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ART. I.—THE MORAL PHILOSOPHY OF "THE INSTITUTES OF THEOLOGY," BY REV. RICHARD WATSON.

STANDING on some lofty peak of the Andes, the traveler may see the head-waters of the great South American rivers mingling in one. But soon they separate, and, becoming more and more divergent in their course as they rush onward toward the sea, their mouths are at last separated by the length of a whole continent. So the student in philosophy, standing on the elevated plain of analytic thought, discovers that the two great philosophic systems which have divided the suffrages of learned men, and placed them on totally opposite poles of thought, have their common starting-point in the one question, "Are there any ideas in the human mind which have not come in through the senses from the external world?" Here are the head-waters of the sensational and transcendental schools of philosophy mingling in one, and just as the Amazon and La Plata flow on in opposite directions until they have reached the extremities of the continent, so from the *yea* or *nay* of this great question, the rivers of philosophic thought flow on in diverse courses until they have reached the antipodes.

If you take the negative side of the question you are a sensationalist, and belong to the school of Locke. Hence *sense* is, for you, the only avenue of knowledge. All the simple ideas existing in the mind are the result of material impressions made upon the sensorium. They are photographs of the external world, the copies that remain after the sensations

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themselves have ceased.\* Then the mind is a mere *passivity*. It has receptivity, but not spontaneity. It has appetency, but not self-determining power. Now you logically tend toward materialism.† If all mental phenomena are resolvable into sensation and association, why may not the mind itself be material? If our ideas are only the traces of material impressions, it is most natural to suppose that the substance upon which these copies are preserved is also material, and all mental operations may now be resolved into mere vibrations of the brain. A material nature can have no *à priori* intuitions; it cannot apprehend fundamental and necessary truth. Its highest conception of moral law is but a calculation of pleasure and pain, a balance of profit and loss. On this theory you can form no rational conception of causation. Creation is inconceivable. Spiritual existences are impossible. God is a nullity.

These consequences are, of course, escaped by taking refuge in *faith*, and planting your feet on the authority of a supernatural revelation attested by supernatural evidences. The truth of Christianity becomes now a simple question of historic fact, to be decided by the same rules of evidence which are applied to all history, with this essential difference however, that your facts are "*sui generis*." They are not facts within the field of nature and experience, and they are consequently burdened by an *à priori* improbability. The fundamental ideas of God, duty, and accountability rest solely upon miracles. You have no substratum of necessary intuitions or primitive beliefs lying at the basis of revelation. Your only idea of virtue is the doing good to mankind in obedience to the revealed will of God for the sake of eternal happiness.‡ There can be no unselfish, disinterested love of God or man.

If you take your stand on the affirmative side of the ques-

\* James Mill: "Analysis of the Phenomena of Mind."

† How closely Locke verges toward materialism is indicated in the earnestness with which he contends that God might endow matter with a faculty of *thinking* and with it of *self-consciousness*, (see book iv, chapter 3, section 6, and notes.) If thought and self-consciousness may be properties of matter under any form, then they are not the *essential characteristic* properties of mind or spirit, and we cannot discriminate between the two. We regret that Watson should have given any countenance to this doctrine. At page 83, vol. ii, he says, "*that self-consciousness is an essential attribute of spirit cannot be proved.*"

‡ Paley: "Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy."



tion, you are so far a *transcendentalist*. For you there are sources of knowledge which transcend experience. The mind itself is the native source of *à priori* cognitions, beliefs, and judgments. These well up from the depths of the soul. "They leap ready-armed from the womb of reason, like Pallas from the head of Jupiter." True, these primary truths of reason are revealed in consciousness under experienced conditions. They appear in the concrete, and not in the abstract form; but we can separate them from what is contingent and empirical, and clearly discriminate them as necessary and universal. Now mind is *spiritual*, not material. It is essentially active, not inertly passive. It has an original spontaneity. It is invested with power and dignity. It is not determined by mere aversion or desire. It can obey the voice of conscience, or it can surrender itself to passion. It can choose between right and wrong, regardless of painful or pleasurable consequences. It is essentially self-moved and self-determined. It is no longer in bondage to nature; it is a living energy controlling nature. Now *causation* becomes to us a reality. Mind is the proper analagon of power, and supplies a type of real efficiency. Now creation is possible. Immortality is credible. The existence of God is an unquestionable truth. Philosophy and Faith may now go hand in hand; and on the platform of necessary and universal truth, which philosophic analysis has cleared, you may plant the Christian system of redeeming and remedial measures, even though they may be *supernatural* interpretations, and feel that all *à priori* improbabilities are counterbalances, and canceled by the analogies which are presented in the operations of the human mind on the material universe. When mind has become to you a real power, and, within its sphere, a real *cause*, governing, controlling, and modifying nature, effecting new collocations and arrangements of material forces, and securing new results, then we have little difficulty in conceiving, and less in believing, that the Infinite Mind interposes continually, controlling and modifying nature to secure moral and spiritual ends, or, in other words, performs a *miracle*.

Thus the intimate relation between philosophy and religion becomes at once apparent, and the influence which a man's philosophic opinions must necessarily exert upon his theological

system must be obvious to every reflecting mind, so that "as is a man's philosophy, so is his theology."

In a previous article (April, 1862) we endeavored to appreciate the amount of influence which the sensational philosophy of Locke has exerted upon the theology of Watson as developed in his management of the theistic argument. We now propose to estimate the influence which the *ethical* phase of that philosophy has exerted upon his views of the *nature of man in its relations to the moral law*, or, in other words, to discuss the MORAL *Philosophy* of the Institutes of Theology.

MORAL PHILOSOPHY is the science of the Moral Law, and of the nature of man as the subject of Moral Law. As such it presents several fundamental questions for our consideration. 1. Is there that which is *immutably right*; the same to all created minds, and to the *Uncreated*? 2. Whence do we derive the *idea of the right* in human conduct? 3. What are the *essential conditions* of human accountability? and, 4. What is the *ground of obligation* to do right? A sharper analysis may perhaps resolve all these questions into one, *Whence do we derive our ideas of right, duty, and accountability?*

Every man's answer to these questions will be largely determined by his philosophic opinions. He may profess to answer them simply as a theologian, but he will necessarily, though unconsciously, be influenced by his philosophy. He can never relegate himself from the laws of thought which are imposed upon his intelligence; nor can he totally divest himself of the principles and ideas which, as the outbirth of philosophic thought, have become inextricably interwoven with all systems of knowledge, and all theological opinions.

If we are *sensationalists* with Locke, then we must be *utilitarians* with Paley. His moral philosophy is unquestionably the ethical phase of the empirical philosophy. Then there is for us no immutable morality. There are no original native practical principles imposed upon the mind as laws of conduct. Our idea of the right is contingent, and not *necessary*; *relative*, and not *absolute*. It is grounded on interest, or utility, or expediency. The distinction in the moral quality of actions is derived from *experience* of their good or evil influence upon society. And the pleasurable or painful consequences which

may result to ourselves and to society are the strongest *motives* which govern human conduct.\*

This ethical phase of the sensational philosophy receives some modifications when taken up into a theological system. Then our ideas of right and wrong are derived *solely from revelation*. Then "the rule which determines the quality of moral actions must be presumed to be matter of [ORAL] revelation from God.† Morality is right because God commands it. And "the only satisfactory answer which the question as to the source of moral obligation can receive is, *it is based upon the will of God.*"‡ This is usually designated "the theological system of morals."

In justice to Watson, we are constrained to distinctly note that, in the Institutes, he nowhere formally adopts the definition of virtue proposed by Paley—"the doing good to mankind in obedience to the revealed will of God *for the sake of eternal happiness.*" He also very casually and incidentally remarks, that the ideas of right and wrong "must have their foundation in the *reality of things.*" It would be exceedingly interesting to be able to determine what Mr. Watson means by the "reality of things," or upon what authority his "*must be*" is based. Because he is careful to assert with marked emphasis that "morals can have *no* authority disjoined from Christianity," and that our ideas of *fitness*, beauty, general interest, or the *natural authority of truth are all mere matters of opinion.*"§ The obligation to perform any duty does not therefore rest upon our perception of its reasonableness, its fitness, its inherent rightness, or its harmony with immutable and eternal justice, but solely on the will of God. "That which in truth binds the creature is not the *nature* of the command issued by

\* "The distinction in the moral quality of actions . . . may in part be traced to its having been observed that certain actions are *injurious to society*, and that to abstain from them is essential to the wellbeing of society. Anger, revenge, cupidity have been deemed evils as the source of injuries of various kinds, and humanity, self-government, and integrity have been ranked as virtues; and thus both certain actions, and the principles from whence they spring, have *from their effects on society been determined to be good or evil.*"

"It has likewise been observed by every man that individual happiness, as truly as social order and interests are materially affected by particular acts, and by those feelings of the heart which give rise to them . . . and that whatever civilized men have *agreed to call vice* is inimical to health of body, or peace of mind, or both."—INSTITUTES, vol. i, page 6.

† Theological Institutes, vol. i, p. 8. ‡ Ibid., vol. ii, p. 477. § Ibid., vol. ii, p. 473.

God, [not its rightness or justice,] but the relation in which the creature stands to God."\*

That man has no original ideas of right and wrong—no intuitive cognitions of what is just and unjust—that the mind has within itself no standards of right, is a fundamental principle of Watson's philosophy, or, if you please, of his theology. The knowledge of right and wrong is derived solely from without. It *may* have been dimly and imperfectly suggested by *experience* and *observation* of the tendency of actions to promote or obstruct human happiness. But "the evidence of both history and tradition shows that so far from these rules, by which the moral quality of actions is determined, having *originated* from observation of what was injurious and what beneficial to mankind, there has been among all nations a constant reference to a *declared* will of the supreme God."†

"A direct communication of the Divine Will as made to the primogenitors of our race," and to that source *alone* all the ideas of right and wrong which have existed in any age, or among any people, are to be traced. "Whatever is found pure in morals in ancient or modern writers, may be traced to *indirect* revelation."‡ *Verbal instruction*—tradition or Scripture—thus becomes the source of all our ideas of right and wrong, of duty, and of obligation.

These fundamental principles of Mr. Watson's philosophy very naturally determine all his other views of *the moral nature of man*.

Man is a moral agent because he is *able* to understand a command when given, and to obey or disobey that command. The only *subjective* ground, or condition of human responsibility, is the power of voluntary choice. The law which determines the quality of action is purely *objective*. Man is in no sense "a law unto himself." And if he have no knowledge of the verbal, extrinsic law he is irresponsible.

Mr. Watson's definition of a moral agent may perhaps imply, but it does not affirm, that the law must be intelligently apprehended by the agent. "An action is rendered moral by two circumstances: that it is *voluntary*, and that it has respect to *some rule* which determines it to be good or evil."§ Here

\* Theological Institutes, vol. ii, page 477.

† Theological Institutes, vol. ii, page 470.

‡ Ibid., vol. i, page 7.

§ Ibid., vol. i, page 5.

there is no recognition of conscience—of reason sitting in judgment upon conduct, or affirming any obligation. The definition of moral good and evil given by Locke and adopted by Watson is the only one possible on this theory. "It is the conformity or disagreement of our voluntary actions to *some law whereby good or evil is drawn upon us by the will, or power of the law-maker.*"\*

An attempt to construct a science of moral law upon *à priori* principles is therefore in Mr. Watson's opinion not only "futile," but also "mischievous" in its tendency. It is "futile" because the materials are, in reality, drawn from revelation, and "dishonestly placed to the account of human reason." It is of "mischievous tendency," because it "disjoins moral rules from Divine authority, and puts Christianity wholly out of sight."[+] And finally, moral philosophy has been clearly proved to be an utter impossibility. "As far as man's reason has applied itself to the discovery of truth, or *duty*, it has generally gone astray."‡ "There was little agreement among the sages of antiquity even upon the first principles of morals."§ "Questions in morals do not, for the most part, lie level to the minds of the populace. The greater part of mankind want leisure and capacity for demonstration, nor can carry on a train of proofs which in that way they must always depend upon for conviction."|| "Their conclusions would have no *authority*, and place them under no *obligation.*"¶ And, indeed, man without a revelation "is without *moral control*, without *principles of justice*, except such as may be slowly elaborated from those relations which concern the grosser interest of life; without CONSCIENCE; without *hope* or *fear* in another life."\*\*\*

The doctrine of Watson may now be summed up in the following propositions:

1. *The human mind has no original, native ideas of the right, the just, the good. Whatever ideas it may possess are derived, primarily, from direct revelation; secondarily, from tradition and instruction.*

2. *The obligation to choose the right does not rest on the*

\* Theological Institutes, vol. i, page 5.

† Ibid., vol. ii, pp. 472-473.

‡ Theological Institutes, vol. ii, page 470.

§ Ibid., vol. i, page 17.

|| Theological Institutes, vol. i, pp. 15-17.

¶ Ibid., vol. i, page 228.

\*\* Theological Institutes, vol. ii, page 271.

*authority of conscience as itself a revelation of the Divine righteousness, but solely on the command of God, as contained in his written word.*

We venture to dissent from his teaching on the following grounds:

1. *The affirmation that the human mind has no native, original ideas of right, but that they are all derived from revelation, is in conflict with revelation itself.*

It is setting up for Scripture a claim which it does not assert for itself. The Bible does not claim to be the original source of all our ideas of right and wrong. On the contrary, it proceeds continually on the assumption that there is an inherent, independent rightness in virtue anterior to all legislation, and which rightness is intuitively perceived by the human mind. "The statutes of the Lord are RIGHT, rejoicing the heart." "Children, obey your parents in the Lord, for that is RIGHT." "Even of your own selves judge ye not what is RIGHT?" "Whatsoever things are true . . . are honest . . . are just . . . are pure . . . are lovely . . . are of good report—if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise—be such the objects of your esteem." The rightness here is not one which is ordained, it is inherent. Children are commanded to obey their parents *because* it is in itself right. The command does not constitute the rightness. Here there is also supposed a natural capacity in man to perceive what is right and just and honest and true. It is taken for granted that these are the things which are of "good report" in every period and country, and that in all ages the "virtue" and the "praise" go together. Here is thus an obvious recognition of the voice of conscience in the individual, and of the voice of universal consciousness as revealed in the moral history of our race. Not only do the Scriptures accord to man the capacity of judging what is right in human conduct, but even in the Divine procedure. When Abraham ventures the solemn expostulation, "Wilt thou destroy the righteous with the wicked? That be far from thee to do after this manner. Shall not the Judge of all the earth do *right*?" there is no disapprobation expressed as to the judgment which a creature dares to pass on what is *right* for the Divine administration. Nay, God appeals to the reason of his creatures as to



the rectitude of his government, and permits the fundamental principles of his administration to be arraigned at the bar of the human conscience. "Are not my ways *equal*?" "Judge, I pray you, betwixt me and my vineyard!" But how can a mortal pronounce upon the Divine procedure, that it is "righteous altogether," if there are no native standards of right erected in his own soul?

That moral law does exist subjectively in all human minds is distinctly affirmed by Paul in a passage which well deserves to be regarded as the chief corner-stone of moral science. "The Gentiles (*ἔθνη*, heathen) which have not the written law, do, by the guidance of nature, (reason or conscience,) the works enjoined by the revealed law; these, having no written law, are *a law unto themselves*, who show plainly the works of the law written on their hearts, their *conscience* bearing witness, and also their *reasonings* one with another when they accuse, or else excuse, each other."\* To deny this is to relegate the heathen from all responsibility. "For the will of a superior is not in justice binding until it is in some mode *sufficiently* declared."† Now, in the righteous judgments of revelation the heathen are "without excuse." The will of God must therefore be "sufficiently declared" to constitute them accountable. Who will presume to affirm that the shadowy, uncertain, variable, easily and unavoidably corrupted medium of tradition, running through forty maddy centuries, is a "sufficient declaration of the will of God?" The law is "written on the heart" of every man, or all men are not accountable.

2. *The affirmation that the human mind has no original native ideas of the just, the right, and the good, renders invalid the internal evidences of the divinity of the Scriptures.*

"The internal evidence" is defined by Mr. Watson to be "that which arises from the consideration of the doctrines taught as *being consistent with the character of God*, and their tendency to promote the *virtue* and happiness of man."—Vol. i, p. 88.

But is it not at once apparent, that if we know nothing of the "character of God" save what is taught us in revelation, then the "internal evidence" is simply the agreement of the "doctrines taught" with the "doctrines taught," which is no evidence at all. It is simply the agreement of Scripture with

\* Romans xi, 14, 16. "Macknight's Trans." † Watson, vol. i, page 9.

Scripture. To say of the will of God that it is "just" and "good," if all "rightness" and "goodness" consist in conformity to the Divine will, is, in fact, no more than saying that the will of God is the will of God. And "to praise the pure morality of the Gospel, if the Gospel itself be the only source from whence we derive our ideas of morality, is merely attributing to the Gospel the praise of being conformable to rules derived from itself."\* This kind of argument does not carry us one step toward a satisfying conviction that the Bible is a revelation from God. If the human mind has no intuitive perception of what is right—if the mind has within itself no original standard of right, the "internal evidences" have no argumentative value. They are an exhibition of weakness rather than of strength.

Indeed, it is evident that Mr. Watson himself places little reliance upon this form of proof. His reasoning is burdened with the consciousness that, under the qualifications and conditions with which he has environed it, it is valueless. Accordingly he tells us that "*the evidence of the authority of revelation is afforded by miracles ALONE.*" "They are the *decisive* and *absolute* evidences of a revelation from God."† "The sacred writers urge the miracles as the decisive proof, without *ever taking into consideration the nature of the doctrine.*"‡ And for us to attempt "to try a professed revelation by our own notions of what is *worthy of God* ('consistent with the character of God,' page 88) and beneficial to mankind, is to assume that independent of revelation we know what God is, or can say what is worthy or unworthy of him."§ Thus to the sagacious mind of Watson it was apparent that, to a philosophy which denies the human mind any primary intuitions in regard to God, right, duty, or immortality, the "internal evidence" is of no value.

Is there then no internal evidence in the Bible of its being the word of God? Surely there is. And it is most convincing. It is the *self-recommending* evidence which the word of God carries along with it to the conscience of every man. The Gospel is "a manifestation of truth and duty which commends itself to every man's conscience in the sight of God."|| It is

\* Archbishop Whately.

† "Theological Institutes," vol. i, page 91.

‡ "Theological Institutes," vol. i, page 91.

§ Ibid., vol. i, page 90.

|| 2 Cor. iv, 2.



found in the verisimilitude—the truth-likeness of its utterances—the tone of downright earnestness and sincerity and honesty which pervades it. It is in its “meeting, waking up, answering to the deep longings, wants, sins, fears, and hopes of man.”\* And, above all, it draws out those intimations of the being and character of God which are written in dim outline on the human soul, and answers to all the ideas of right and justice and equity and goodness which are imbedded in the conscience of man. This is the power and grandeur of *self-attestation*. This is the evidence whose force is felt alike by the educated and the uneducated—the evidence on which the masses of Christian men rest with an unfaltering faith. They know little or nothing of the arguments of Leland, or Leslie, or Paley; but they feel and appreciate the internal, self-announcing, self-recommending evidence of God’s word, because it has spoken to their inmost soul, and they know that God is there!

The validity of this argument for the divinity of the Scriptures is grounded upon the principle that there is a perfect accordance between the fundamental truths and principles of inspiration and the ideas of fundamental truth and morality existing in the human soul. The moral law written on the heart is identical with the moral law written on the tables of stone. The revealed code answers to the “*λογινῇ ἐννοια*”†—the common sentiments of mankind.

3. *That the human mind is so constituted as INTUITIVELY to apprehend moral distinctions and laws we argue from the character of its Divine Author.*

Creation must necessarily be a manifestation of God. If he put forth his energy in creative acts, that creation must necessarily bear the impress, and be a reflection of his own mind. It must express his own *thoughts*; it must embody and realize his own *ideas*, so far as the materials will permit. Just as we see the mind of man exhibited in his works—his skill, his taste, his ideal expressed in his literary or artistic creations, so we expect to see the mind of God displayed in his works. The pure, the intense, the visionary impersonation which the artist had impressed upon his own mind was wrought out in Psyche. The colossal grandeur of Michael Angelo’s *ideals*, the ethereal mildness and saintly elegance of Raphael’s were *realized* upon

\* Young: “Province of Reason,” page 194.

† Plutarch.

their canvas. So that he who is familiar with the ideal of the sculptor or the painter, can identify his creations even when the author's name is not affixed. And so the *thoughts* of the Eternal are expressed in the material forms around us, his *ideas* are symbolized in the visible universe, and his *plans* are revealed in history. If, then, we can learn the nature of a cause by studying its effects—if we can discover the final cause of an organ by observing its functional powers—if we can discover the ideal of an artist by studying his creations—so may we read the character of God in his works around us and within us.

In the human soul, as a spiritual essence, we may not only expect to catch some lines and lineaments of the spiritual nature of God, but also some *reflection of his moral character*. If we see *omnipotence* in the mighty masses and forces of the material universe; if we see *intelligence* in the arrangements and special adaptations of man's physical nature; if we see *goodness* in the direct subserviency of the material world to the convenience and happiness of man, we can also see the moral qualities of the Creator—his *justice* and *righteousness* and *truth* in the constitution and laws of man's spiritual nature.

The mind of man is the *chef-d'œuvre* of divine art. It is figured after the model which the Divine nature supplies. "Let us make man in our *image* after our *likeness*." That image consists in *ἐπίγνωσις*, knowledge; *δικαιοσύνη*, justice; and *δοῦναι*,\* beneficence. It is not merely the *capacity* to know, to be just, and to be beneficent; it is *actual* knowledge, justice, and beneficence. It supposes, 1, that the fundamental ideas of truth, justice, and goodness are native to the mind; and 2, that the full choice and determination of the *will* is toward the realization of these ideas in every mental state, and every form of human activity. And though he be now fallen, there is in him still "the law of the mind"—the reason, the conscience, though in conflict with depraved passions and appetites—"the law in the members." There is yet a natural, constitutional sympathy of reason with the revealed law of God; "it delights in that law;" "it consents that it is good;" but it is overborne and obstructed by passion.†

Whatever the depravity of man, his declared war is not with

\* *δοῦναι* from the דָּן — kind, merciful, benevolent.

† Squier: "Reason and the Bible."

virtue as such. He does not hate justice as justice, truth as truth, benevolence as benevolence. He recognizes their inherent rightness, he asserts their importance, he admires their excellency, he is pleased with their exhibition in other men, even though he violate them all. The fall did not take away one essential element of man's rational, spiritual being, though it perverted, and gave a wrong direction to them all. Man is still "the image and glory of God"\* in his reason, his intelligence, his dominion, though not in his disordered passions and his *will*. He must still have the same ideas of right as dwell in the Infinite mind. He must affirm the same moral judgments. He must feel the same satisfaction and joy in beholding and choosing the right as is felt by God.

4. *The universal consciousness of our race, as revealed in human history, languages, legislation and sentiments, bear testimony to the fact that the ideas of right, duty, and moral desert are native to the human mind.*

That there is a native *tendency* in the human mind to discriminate the quality of actions, and to affirm moral distinctions, will not be denied. It is unquestionable that, in presence of voluntary actions, we at once recognize them as having a *moral* quality. We characterize some as good, others as bad; some as right, others as wrong. We know that one class *ought* to be performed, the other *ought not*. We feel that when we have performed the wrong act we deserve blame and punishment, and when we have performed the right act we deserve approval and reward.

That such moral distinctions have been made, and such moral judgments have been passed in *all* ages, and by *all* men—the old and the young, the learned and the ignorant, the savage and the civilized—is attested by the history, languages, laws, philosophies, traditions, religions, common sentiments, and usages of universal humanity.

The question to be decided, then, is simply this, "Are these moral judgments *intuitive*?" and if so, "are they based upon fundamental ideas of right, duty, and demerit, *native to the human mind*?"

The marks and criteria by which INTUITIONS are to be recognized are, 1, they are *self-evident*, and need no proof; 2, they

\* 1 Cor. xi, 7.

are *necessary*, and must be believed; 3, they are *universal*. When apprehended they are believed by *all*.

Moral distinctions have all these marks and peculiarities of intuitive truths, therefore they are native intuitions of the mind. *Moral distinctions are self-evident*. They are seen in their own light, and rest upon their own evidence. The distinctions between justice and injustice, right and wrong, truth and falsehood, are at once perceived on the bare contemplation of them. They are not deduced from any previous propositions or premises, they are not established by any reasoning, and they are incapable of demonstration. No explanations can make them clearer, no arguments can make them stronger than when first apprehended. No man ever attempts to *prove* first it is wrong for any one to take away his property without his consent, and without furnishing him a just equivalent. He simply affirmed *that it is wrong*, and that is a sufficient reason for all intelligent beings. It finds a response in the universal conscience of the race.

*Moral distinctions are necessary*. The laws of our intelligence compel us to affirm them as real and immutable. The contrary cannot be conceived, or if conceived, it is absurd. It is as impossible to believe that there are intelligences to whom injustice can appear right, or falsehood appear a virtue, as to conceive that there are beings to whom two and two equals five, or a part equals the whole. "The distinctions between right and wrong, truth and falsehood, justice and injustice, are just as fixed and necessary as the distinction between a straight line and a curved line, or between body and space. The law of duty is just as fixed and as absolute as are the mathematical relations."\* We speak of mathematical as eternal truths. The epithet is apt and just. There can be no contradiction and no alteration in them. They depend upon no arrangement of matter, upon no distribution of forces. Were there no heavens and no earth for their diagram, were there no created intelligences to demonstrate them, they would be the *same*. So we reason concerning moral distinctions. Their standard and reason are found in *eternal justice*. We can as easily conceive of a square ceasing to have angles, or a circle without a center, as we can conceive of moral distinctions as having a beginning, or

\* Tappan.

that they can come to an end. They are normal and imperishable.

*Moral distinctions are universal.* They are the same in every case and to every being, so that when the same facts and relations are apprehended, the affirmations of conscience in all moral agents are the same.

The criterion or law by which a *necessary* moral principle is determined to be a *universal* principle is, *the impossibility of our not erecting it into a maxim of universal legislation.\**

And inasmuch as the ideas of right and wrong *exist* in all rational minds, and have to all minds the *same* characteristics of being self-evident and necessary, and as each moral agent cannot but affirm that the same law which binds him *does* and *must* bind all other intelligents, it follows that *when the same facts and relations are apprehended, the same law, in its essential forms, must be known to, and bind the conscience of all moral beings.*

The human mind affirms *obligation*, not only for itself, but for all rational beings. Whatever I am bound in justice to render to my neighbor, is that which he is also bound to render unto me. Whatsoever I would that man should do unto me, that is what I am required to do unto him. My own moral judgments are but the echo of the conscience of the moral universe. Now, as the conscience of each moral agent legislates not only for itself, but for other intelligents, affirming with as much confidence what is *their* duty as what is its own, and as we cannot but feel that such is the conscience of every other moral agent, we have in this fact an explanation of the *universal* conviction and sentiment of moral accountability. "Every man knows—cannot but know—himself as accountable, not only at the bar of his own conscience, but of that of every other intelligent for his moral conduct."† We feel they have a right to inquire into the reasons of our conduct. When we have done right, we feel we have a right to the moral esteem of all intelligent beings; when we have done wrong, we feel the condemnation of our fellow-men is just.

Moral distinctions have then the characteristics of self-evident, necessary, and universal truth. Now, the ultimate ground of all moral judgments is *the fundamental ideas of the*

\* Cousin: "True, Beautiful, and Good," page 300.

† Mahan.

*reason.* A judgment is the affirmation of an agreement or disagreement. The subject and the predicate can only be compared by a middle term with which both must agree, or with which one agrees and the other disagrees. That middle term in the case before us must be an idea of pure reason, or, in other words, it must be native to all minds, because all minds affirm moral distinctions. If, then, moral distinctions are necessary and universal, the ideas of the just, the true, and the good, upon which they are based, must also be *universal*; they are native to all minds.

In opposition to the doctrine of the universality of moral distinctions and moral ideas, it is affirmed *that reason or conscience does not enounce a uniform suffrage*; its dictates are widely divergent, sometimes contradictory.

We are told by Mr. Watson that "so far as mere reason has applied itself to the discovery of duty it has *generally* gone astray." "There was *little agreement* among the sages of antiquity, even upon the first principles of morals." "The fundamental principles in morals . . . were either held *doubtfully*, or connected with some manifest absurdity, or utterly *denied* by the *wisest* moral teachers among the Gentiles who lived before the Christian revelation was given."\* "There is," says Locke, "scarce that principle of morality to be named, or rule of virtue to be thought on, which is not somewhere or other slighted and condemned by the *general fashion* of whole societies of men, governed by practical opinions and rules of living quite opposite to each other." Paley affirms "there is scarce a single vice which in some age or country has not been countenanced by *public opinion*. In one country it is esteemed an office of piety in children to sustain aged parents, in another to dispatch them out of the way; suicide in one age of the world has been called heroism, in another felony; theft, which is punished by most laws, by the laws of Sparta was not unfrequently rewarded. You shall have dueling alternately reprobated and applauded, according to the sex, age, or station of the person you converse with: the forgiveness of insults and injuries is accounted by one sort of people magnanimity, by another meanness."† "One nation regards it as the greatest barbarity

\* "Theological Institutes," vol. i, page 33.

† "Moral and Political Philosophy," book i, chap. v.

to hurt an infant, while infanticide was practiced and justified among the polite and civilized Athenians, and the Hindoo mother still sacrifices her infant to her idol god."\* And because there is a diversity of *opinion* and of *action* among men, it is argued that *conscience is the mere creature of education, and there is no correct standard of right in the human mind.*

This mode of reasoning is not caricatured, but fairly stated in other words—because men have not uniformly practiced the right, therefore they have not had the idea of the *right*; inasmuch as men have not obeyed conscience, therefore conscience has not taught men what right is; because the sophist has prevaricated with conscience, and often suborned it to crime; because the clamors of passion have sometimes overborne and stifled the voice of conscience; because "public fashion" or "public opinion" in one country or age has been in favor of evil, therefore *conscience does not enounce a uniform suffrage!—its utterances are contradictory!*

We are led to wonder that it has never occurred to the minds of those who are perpetually employing this argument to disparage *conscience*—"the voice of God in man"—that this is precisely the mode of reasoning whereby sceptics are endeavoring to disparage *inspiration*—"the voice of God in Scripture."

They tell you there is scarce a crime which has not been committed in the name of religion, and scarcely a virtue enjoined in the Scriptures which has not, in one age or another, been slighted and disregarded by the public opinion or fashion of Christian nations. Men professing, believing, and teaching Christianity have been guilty of murder, infanticide, polygamy, adultery, and every other conceivable crime. Did not the Roman Catholic appeal to Scripture in proof that it was his solemn duty to persecute and burn all heretics? and did not he believe he was doing God service? Did not the Puritan seek for precedents to guide his ordinary conduct in the Books of Judges and of Kings, and sing with unwonted fervor the imprecatory Psalms? "The prophet who hewed in pieces a captive king; the rebel general who gave the blood of a queen to the dogs; the matron who, in defiance of plighted faith and of the laws of hospitality, drove the nail into the brain of the

\* Smith's "Theory of Moral Sentiments," page 5, chap. ii.



fugitive ally who was sleeping under the shadow of her tent, were proposed as models to Christians suffering under the tyranny of princes and prelates."\* Do not a large proportion of the Christians of this continent quote the Scriptures to prove that American slavery is a divine institution? and are not the ministers of the Southern Churches—men professing to be taught of God—praying for the success of the most diabolical rebellion that ever darkened human history? while other ministers are denouncing slavery, and anathematizing the rebellion in God's name, and on the authority of the same writings. Therefore, they argue, *the Bible does not enounce a uniform suffrage; the conclusions to which it leads men are palpably contradictory!*

Is, then, the Bible not an ultimate standard of *right*, even though many who profess to follow its teachings do not do *right*? because among Christians in different countries and ages there have been conflicting opinions as to what their duty was? Does not the Scripture clearly, unmistakably teach what *duty* is? You answer, with emphasis, YES! You say they who are pleading the Scriptures to sustain and defend injustice and wrong, are wresting and perverting and misinterpreting the Bible. They who profess to believe the Scriptures, and yet violate the rights of others, and trample on the claims of humanity, do so in opposition to the Bible. They are dishonoring and disobeying the word of God. They are bad men in spite of their faith. They know they are wrong, and yet do wrong. They love sin, and are determined to live in sin, and they are perpetually prevaricating with Scripture to array it on their side. True! And so we affirm that they who are doing wrong, and laboring to create a public opinion in favor of wrong, and are pleading a pretended dictum of conscience on the side of wrong, are doing so *against conscience*. The allegation that "the most flagrant crimes have been committed in the name of conscience" is only a parallel to the assertion that "the most flagrant crimes have been committed in the name of religion;" but this does not prove that conscience any more than that religion has approved and authorized these crimes. That a rule of virtue was slighted by the "general fashion" is no evidence that those who joined in the fashion did not still

\* Macaulay.



know that it *was* a rule of virtue. There is "scarce a single vice which has not been countenanced by public opinion in some age or country;" but where is the proof that it has been approved by the inward monitor? Who can prove that in any age or nation the liar, the thief, the adulterer, the murderer believed he was *right*, or that reason in any age ever justified the complacential love of sin? There is a world of difference between the sentiments which men express in public and those which they entertain in private. The utterances of a man's lips, when put upon his own defense before his fellow-men, are very different to the verdicts of his own conscience in the moments of calm reflection. Suicide in one age has been heroism, in another cowardice; but it is not every action which a man pronounces heroic that he, in his conscience, believes to be *right*. "The polite and civilized Athenians, instead of censuring, justified infanticide by far-fetched considerations of public utility."\* *Then, indeed, it needed justification! if they believed it right it needed none.* Why have recourse to arguments unless they were conscious it was morally wrong? The vices of theft and lying are *said* to have been legalized by the Lacedemonian Institute, (though much that is commonly believed of it rests upon tradition and myth, and not on veritable history.) It was deemed needful to a military training. It was justified as tending to expertness, and as encouraging concealment and secrecy.† "But to support this Spartan code, they must dethrone nature herself. It interdicted all the laws and sympathies of humanity. It annulled marriage. It took possession of offspring. It required, as a test of endurance, the self-infliction of the severest cruelties."‡ It was one grand conflict with God, nature, and conscience, and to carry it forward they had to "dissever man from antiquity, from internationality, from kindred, from philosophy, from instinct, and from every strong-

\* Adam Smith.

† When theft was publicly rewarded in Sparta it was not because honesty was not deemed a virtue, but because patriotism was deemed a greater virtue, and therefore the dextrous robbery of an enemy was honored at the price of honesty, as a service rendered to the state.—Dr. Harris's "Man Primeval," page 135. (See Sir J. Mackintosh's "Dissertations," § 1. Also Dr. Brown's Lectures, vol. ii, pp. 240, 241. American edition.)

‡ Hamilton.

hold of his being," and then it failed utterly and ingloriously. The Hindoo mother has still the tenderness of a true mother when she sacrifices her infant to her idol god; but she is controlled by a mightier power than instinct or conscience—*her religious hopes and fears*. Her sense of guilt suggests the need of expiation, and she offers "the fruit of her body for the sin of her soul."

All these alleged instances of a variable and fluctuating standard of morals among men are therefore defective in one essential point. They fail to show that *when conscience has been allowed its simple exercise and native authority it has not universally condemned injustice and cruelty, and fostered righteousness and beneficence*. They show that the external conduct, and sometimes the conventional opinions of men, have varied from a uniform standard of right; but they do not prove that a uniform standard of right has not always existed among men. They prove that men have not always followed the teachings of conscience; but they do not prove that the moral judgment of mankind has ever approved the *wrong*, or that it was possible by any process of perversion or induration to bring men to believe that falsehood, robbery, adultery, homicide are *right*.

The grand error which vitiates all the reasoning of those who would disprove the existence, in all minds, of a uniform moral standard, is the tacit assumption that *necessary ideas of reason must act causally upon the will*. They seem to have taken for granted that if conscience had been uniform in its teaching, all men would have been uniform in their moral conduct. They argue that mankind have not uniformly chosen the right, therefore they have not had the idea of the right. But are we not all conscious that the voice of conscience may be overborne and drowned by the clamors of passion? A perverse and depraved will may, and does often choose evil in the midst of the clearest perceptions of right, and against the most solemn remonstrances of conscience. Hence the possibility of sin. Nay, a public opinion in favor of wrong may be created, and factitious circumstances may for a season give countenance to evil—a whole community may persistently practice iniquity, and outrage conscience until they become the dupes of falsehood and crime, and conscience may *appear* to be dead. But

in the most depraved and wicked, it is not utterly dead. They, even, who are abandoned of God; and "given over by him to a reprobate mind" . . . they "who are without understanding" . . . "without natural affection" . . . "*they know the judgment of God,*" that they who commit such things are *worthy* of death; not only do the same, but have pleasure in them that do them."\*

They who have become so fatuous may have disinherited the understanding and judgment of all that is true to them; but unless they have become idiotic, and *reason* is extinguished, they must affirm the distinction of right and wrong, and know that wrong is "*worthy*" of punishment. Amid surrounding circumstantial darkness, the depravity of the heathen could not be adjudged as "*worthy of death,*" unless God had still his own witness in the consciences of men.

Another source of misapprehension on the part of those who assert that the moral standards among our race are uncertain and fluctuating, is in their *not distinguishing between necessary and contingent principles of morality.*

In so far as the motives and intentions by which a moral agent is to be governed are concerned, the principles of morality are under all circumstances, and to all beings, fixed and immutable. We are morally bound to *intend* that which is right, and to *will* the good of universal being. In regard to the *means* we employ to realize these intentions, they are *contingent*, and vary with the light enjoyed by different individuals, and by the same individuals at different times. Particular duties are also modified and determined by particular relations and circumstances; and amid the endless complications of circumstances, it is often difficult to decide what our duty is. Hence the possibility of *error*. The *motive*, which in reality determines the moral quality of every action, may be right; the *means* employed may be inadequate, or even subversive of the end proposed.

As in the law written on tables of stone, we have "universal principles which include and imply all particular and special duties;" so, also, in the law written upon the heart. In the light of these "universal principles," man has to determine his duty under all the varying circumstances and relations of his

\* See Romans i, 21-32.

earthly existence. We may err in the application of these principles, but we cannot fail to recognize the principles themselves as rules of conduct.

Now to affirm that men have no native, fundamental ideas of the just and good, because, amid the varying circumstances of life and collisions of duties, they have erred in the application of these standards of right, is just as erroneous as the assertion that there are no universal principles of right enounced in the Scriptures because Christians have often misinterpreted and misapplied them.

*The affirmation that the moral standards among our race are fluctuating and variable is in conflict with all facts and all evidence.*

In spite of all the topical moralities to which factitious circumstances may have given birth, there is an unquestionable, *universal morality*. In every nation under heaven, Veracity, Justice, Beneficence are separated by a clear, unmistakable line from Falsehood, Injustice, and Cruelty; nor can all the casuistry and sophistry in the universe transpose or confound them. Custom, prescription, conversions of human opinion, factitious circumstances can never blur over and obliterate these lines. Beneath all these, conscience will make her voice to be heard in the inmost depths of the soul, in the common sentiments of mankind, and in the statutes of universal jurisprudence. The great ideas of Justice and Right were prominent and well defined among the nations of antiquity. "Nemesis and Themis were not only their abstractions and deities; they were embodied in their systems of jurisprudence. Law secured property and sanctified life. Law guarded every relation and ordered every act. Law was the theme of their philosophy, and the burden of their song. We are not unacquainted with the jealousies and disputes of their schools of philosophy. They placed the good of man and the reason of morality in the most incongruous things, but they *never differed concerning the conduct which was right*. Epicurus and Zeno knew no divergence here.\* The assertion that unassisted reason cannot furnish us a knowledge of duty, and of the immutable distinctions between right and wrong, is con-

\* Richard Winter Hamilton, page 57: "Revealed Doctrine of Future Rewards and Punishments."

futed by the existence of Aristotle's "Treatise on Ethics," "the Institutes of Menu,"\* and the moral teachings of the "Bhagvat Geeta."† The testimony of Cicero is conclusive as to the perception, by all minds, of an immutable morality. "There is one true and original law, *conformable to nature and reason*, diffused over all, invariable, eternal, which calls to the fulfillment of duty and to abstinence from injustice, and which calls with that irresistible voice which is felt in all its authority when it is heard. This law cannot be abolished, curtailed, nor affected in its sanctions by any law of man. A whole senate, a whole people cannot dispense with its paramount obligation. It requires no commentator to render it distinctly intelligible, nor is it different at Rome, at Athens now, and in the ages before and after; but in all ages, and in all nations, it is, and has been, and will be, one and everlasting—one as that God, its great author and promulgator, is one."‡

Among the most savage, as among the most refined and polished nations, are also to be found the common rules of morality. Theft, adultery, murder, are offenses condemned and punished by every nation under heaven. The high qualities of virtue are the things which win esteem and command reverence in every country however rude. The quotation of authorities on this point is needless. Were we asked for proof, we would go straight to the darkest corner of the earth at once. The Fijian regards theft, adultery, abduction, incendiarism, and treason as serious crimes.§

If, then, moral distinctions are self-evident, necessary, and universal, they are not the *creations of mere law*; they are not the result of Divine legislation. The will of God did not call them into being, and therefore the *ground of obligation* to govern ourselves by them is not to be found in the *Divine will*.

"God is no more the creator of *virtue* than he is of truth. Justice and benevolence were virtues previous to the putting of will or *jurisprudence* on his part. They had a subsistence and a character before that any creatures were made

\* See the Life of Sir James Mackintosh,

† Bibliotheca Sacra, vol. xvi, pp. 788, 805.

‡ Lucani Pharsalia, Lib. ix, v. Translated by Dr. Brown. Philosophy, vol. ii, page 251.

§ See "Fiji and the Fijians," page 22.

who could be the subjects of a will or a government at all. He no more ordained them to be virtues than he ordained that the three angles of a triangle should be equal to two right angles. The moral and the mathematical propositions have been alike the objects of Divine perception and of Divine approval from all eternity; and he no more willed the *rightness* of the one, and the *reality* of the other, than he willed himself into being, or willed what should be the virtues of his own character, or the ideas of his own reason."\* Moral distinctions are, therefore, uncreated and eternal—the necessary development of the uncreated and eternal reason. Virtue has an inherent and essential rightness of its own, and God wills it *because* it is right.

The Divine will is the fountain of efficiency; *the Divine reason is the fountain of law*. Free-will is universally the subject and not the foundation of obligation. In the Divine reason must therefore be found the *ground of all moral obligation*. And as the human reason is the outbirth and image of the Divine, so its affirmations are the highest authority to man. *The voice of conscience is the voice of God*. There can be no higher authority in morals. It speaks more immediately and directly to the human heart than the voice of any prophet or seer.

The necessary affirmations of the moral faculty are assumed as the *reason* of obligation. When the particular relation, in view of which a particular duty is affirmed, is apprehended, whether it be a duty toward God, individual man, or society, all the *reason* that can be assigned has been given why that duty is binding upon us. *We have then discovered the only real and ultimate foundation of all obligation*.

We flatter ourselves we have now cleared our pathway to the field of Moral Science, and may be permitted, in another short article, to mark out its legitimate boundaries, and gather up some of its precious fruits.

\* Chalmers' Institutes, vol. i.

ART. II.—THE SAINTS OF THE DESERT: ST. ANTHONY  
OF EGYPT, AND SYMEON THE STYLITE.

CHRISTIAN monasticism arose in the fourth century on the basis of the earlier asceticism, which can be traced to the apostolic age, and even beyond to the Essenes in Palestine and Therapeutæ in Egypt. It was an attempt to save the virgin purity of the Church, now united with the State since Constantine, by carrying it into the wilderness, and to strike out a safer way to holiness and salvation by withdrawing from the world and its temptations, and by cultivating exclusively the virtues of humility, chastity, and self-denial in unbroken communion with God. It spread with astonishing rapidity all over the Christian world, became one of the leading institutions in the Greek and Roman Church, and exerted for many centuries down to the Reformation, and even to the present time, a powerful influence for good and evil upon the Church and the world.

The first known Christian hermit, as distinct from the earlier ascetics, who lived in the midst of the Church, is the fabulous PAUL OF THEBES, in Upper Egypt. In the twenty-second year of his age, during the Decian persecution, A. D. 250, he retired to a distant cave, grew fond of solitude, and lived there, according to the legend, ninety years in a grotto near a spring and a palm-tree, which furnished him food, shade, and clothing until his death, in 340. In his later years a raven is said to have brought him daily half a loaf, as the ravens ministered to Elijah. But no one knew of this wonderful saint till Anthony, who under a higher impulse visited and buried him, made him known to the world. At this singular visit the raven brought a double portion of bread, and at the burial two lions of the desert assisted Anthony of their own accord, digging a grave in the sand. So says, in good earnest, the learned Jerome some thirty years afterward, as it appears, on the authority of Amalric and Macarius, two disciples of Anthony. But this and similar traditions he opens to suspicion by the remark in the prologue to his life of Paul of Thebes, that many incredible things are said of him which are not worthy of repetition.



In this Paul we have an example of a canonized saint who lived ninety years unseen and unknown in the wilderness, beyond all fellowship with the visible Church, without Bible, public worship, or sacraments, and so died, yet is supposed to have attained the highest grade of piety. How does this consist with the common doctrine of the Catholic Church respecting the necessity and the operation of the means of *grace*? Augustine, blinded by the ascetic spirit of his age, says even that anchorets on their level of perfection may dispense with the Bible. Certain it is that this kind of perfection stands not in the Bible, but outside of it.

The proper founder of the hermit life, the one chiefly instrumental in giving it its prevalence, was ST. ANTHONY of Egypt. He is the most celebrated, the most original, and the most venerable representative of this abnormal and eccentric sanctity, the patriarch of monks, and the childless father of an innumerable seed. Anthony sprang from a Christian and honorable Coptic family, and was born about 251 at Conia, on the borders of the Thebiad. Naturally quiet, contemplative, and reflective, he avoided the society of playmates, and despised all higher learning. He understood only his Coptic vernacular, and remained all his life ignorant of Grecian literature and secular science. But he diligently attended divine worship with his parents, and so carefully heard the Scripture lessons that he retained them in memory. Memory was his library. He afterward made faithful, but only too literal use of single passages of Scripture, and began his discourse to the hermits with the very uncatholic-sounding declaration, "The holy Scriptures give us instruction enough." In his eighteenth year, about 270, the death of his parents devolved on him the care of a younger sister and a considerable estate. Six months afterward he heard in the church, just as he was meditating on the apostles' implicit following of Jesus, the word of the Lord to the rich young ruler: "If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come and follow me." This word was the voice of God, which determined his life. He divided his real estate, consisting of three hundred acres of fertile land, among the inhabitants of the village, and sold his personal property for the benefit of the poor, excepting a moderate



reserve for the support of his sister. But when soon afterward he heard in the church the exhortation, "Take no thought for the morrow," he distributed the remnant to the poor, and intrusted his sister to a society of pious virgins. He visited her only once after, a characteristic fact for the ascetic depreciation of natural ties.

He then forsook the hamlet and led an ascetic life in the neighborhood, praying constantly according to the exhortation, "Pray without ceasing;" and also laboring according to the maxim, "If any will not work, neither should he eat." What he did not need for his slender support he gave to the poor. He visited the neighboring ascetics, who were then already very plentiful in Egypt, to learn humbly and thankfully their several eminent virtues, from one, earnestness in prayer; from another, watchfulness; from a third, excellence in fasting; from a fourth, meekness; from all, love to Christ and to fellow-men. Thus he made himself universally beloved, and came to be revered as a friend of God. But to reach a still higher level of ascetic holiness, he retreated, after the year 285, further and further from the bosom and vicinity of the Church into solitude, and thus became the founder of anchoritism or hermit life, strictly so called. At first he lived in a sepulcher; then for twenty years in the ruins of a castle; and last on Mount Colzim, some seven hours from the Red Sea, a three days' journey east of the Nile, where an old cloister still preserves his name and memory.

In this solitude he prosecuted his ascetic practices with ever-increasing vigor. The monotony was broken only by basket-making, occasional visits, and battles with the devil. In fasting he attained a rare abstemiousness. His food consisted of bread and salt, sometimes dates; his drink of water. Flesh and wine he never touched. He ate only once a day, generally after sunset, and like the presbyter Isidore, was ashamed that an immortal spirit should need earthly nourishment. Often he fasted from two to five days. Friends and wandering Saracens, who always had a certain reverence for the saints of the desert, brought him bread from time to time. But in the last years of his life, to render himself entirely independent of others, and to afford hospitality to travelers, he cultivated a small garden on the mountain, near a spring shaded by palms.

Sometimes the wild beasts of the forest destroyed his modest harvest, till he drove them away forever with the expostulation, "Why do you injure me, who never have done you the slightest harm? Away with you all, in the name of the Lord, and never come into my neighborhood again." He slept on bare ground, or at best on a pallet of straw; but often he watched the whole night through in prayer. The anointing of the body with oil he despised, and in later years never washed his feet, as if filthiness was an essential element of ascetic perfection. His whole wardrobe consisted of a hair shirt, a sheepskin, and a girdle. But notwithstanding all, he had a winning friendliness and cheerfulness in his face.

Conflicts with the devil and his hosts of demons were, as with other solitary saints, a prominent part of Anthony's experience, and continued through all his life. The devil appeared to him in visions and dreams, or even in daylight, in all possible forms; now as a friend, now as a fascinating woman, now as a dragon, tempting him by reminding him of his former wealth, of his noble family, of the care due to his sister; by promises of wealth, honor, and renown; by exhibitions of the difficulty of virtue and the facility of vice; by unchaste thoughts and images; by terrible threatenings of the dangers and punishments of the ascetic life. Once he struck the hermit so violently, Athanasius says, that a friend, who brought him bread, found him on the ground apparently dead. At another time he broke through the walls of his cave and filled the room with roaring lions, howling wolves, growling bears, fierce hyenas, crawling serpents, and scorpions; but Anthony turned manfully toward the monsters, till a supernatural light broke in from the roof and dispersed them. His sermon, which he delivered to the hermits at their request, treats principally of these wars with demons, and gives also the key to the interpretation of them. "Fear not Satan and his angels," he said; "Christ has broken their power. The best weapon against them is faith and piety. The presence of evil spirits reveals itself in perplexity, despondency, hatred of the ascetics, evil desires, fear of death. They take the form answering to the spiritual state they find in us at the time. They are the reflex of our thoughts and fantasies. If thou art carnally minded, thou art their prey; but if thou rejoicest in the Lord and occu-

piest thyself with divine things they are powerless. The devil is afraid of fasting, of prayer, of humility and good works. His illusions soon vanish where one arms himself with the sign of the cross."

Only in exceptional cases did Anthony leave his solitude, and then he made a powerful impression on both Christians and heathens with his hairy dress and his emaciated, ghost-like form. In the year 311, during the persecution under Maximinus, he appeared in Alexandria, in the hope of himself gaining the martyr's crown. He visited the confessors in the mines and prisons, encouraged them before the tribunal, accompanied them to the scaffold; but no one ventured to lay hands on the saint of the wilderness. In the year 351, when a hundred years old, he showed himself for the second and last time in the metropolis of Egypt to bear witness for the orthodox faith of his friend Athanasius against Arianism, and in a few days converted more heathen and heretics than had otherwise been gained in a whole year. He declared the Arian denial of the divinity of Christ worse than the venom of the serpent, and no better than heathenism, which worshiped the creature instead of the Creator. He would have nothing to do with heretics, and warned his disciples against intercourse with them. Athanasius attended him to the gate of the city, where he cast out an evil spirit from a girl. An invitation to stay longer in Alexandria he declined, saying, "As a fish out of water, so a monk out of his solitude dies." Imitating his example, the monks afterward forsook the wilderness in swarms whenever orthodoxy was in danger, and went in long processions, with wax tapers and responsive singing, through the streets, or appeared at the councils to contend for the orthodox faith with all the energy of fanaticism, often even with physical force.

Though Anthony shunned the society of men, yet he was frequently visited in his solitude and resorted to for consolation and aid by Christians and heathens, by ascetics, sick and needy, as a heaven-descended physician of Egypt for body and soul. He enjoined prayer, labor, and care of the poor; exhorted those at strife to the love of God, and healed the sick and demoniac with his prayer. Athanasius relates several miracles performed by him, the truth of which we leave undecided, though they are far less incredible and absurd than many other monkish

stories of that age. Anthony, his biographer assures us, never boasted when his prayer was heard, nor murmured when it was not, but in either case thanked God. He cautioned monks against overrating the gift of miracles, since it is not our work, but the grace of the Lord; and he reminded them of the word, "Rejoice not that the spirits are subject unto you; but rather rejoice because your names are written in heaven." To Martianus, an officer, who urgently besought him to heal his possessed daughter, he said, "Man, why dost thou call on me? I am a man, as thou art. If thou believest, pray to God, and he will hear thee." Martianus prayed, and on his return found his daughter whole.

Anthony distinguished himself above most of his countless disciples and successors by his fresh originality of mind. Though uneducated and contracted, he had sound sense and ready mother-wit. Many of his striking answers and felicitous sentences have come down to us. When some heathen philosophers once visited him, he asked them, "Why do you give yourselves so much trouble to see a fool?" They explained, perhaps ironically, that they took him rather for a wise man. He replied, "If you take me for a fool, your labor is lost; but if I am a wise man you should imitate me, and be Christians as I am." At another time, when taunted with his ignorance, he asked, "Which is older and better, mind or learning?" The mind, was the answer. "Then," said the hermit, "the mind can do without learning." "My book," he remarked on a similar occasion, "is the whole creation, which lies open before me, and in which I can read the word of God as often as I will." The blind Church teacher, Didymus, whom he met in Alexandria, he comforted with the words, "Trouble not thyself for the loss of the outward eye, with which even flies see; but rejoice in the possession of the spiritual eye, with which also angels behold the face of God and receive his light." Even the Emperor Constantine, with his sons, wrote to him as a spiritual father, and begged an answer from him. The hermit at first would not so much as receive the letter, since in any case, being unable to write, he could not answer it, and cared as little for the great of this world as Diogenes for Alexander. When told that the emperor was a Christian, he dictated the answer: "Happy thou, that thou worships Christ.

Be not proud of thy earthly power. Think of the future judgment, and know that Christ is the only true and eternal king. Practice justice and love for men, and care for the poor." To his disciples he said on this occasion, "Wonder not that the emperor writes to me, for he is a man. Wonder much more that God has written the law for man, and has spoken to us by his own Son."

During the last years of his life the patriarch of monasticism withdrew as much as possible from the sight of visitors, but allowed two disciples to live with him, and to take care of him in his infirm old age. When he felt his end approaching he commanded them not to embalm his body, according to the Egyptian custom, but to bury it in the earth, and keep the spot of his interment secret. One of his two sheep-skins he bequeathed to the Bishop Serapion; the other, with his under-clothing, to Athanasius, who had once given it to him new, and now received it back, worn out and loaded with honor. What became of the robe woven from palm leaves, which, according to Jerome, he had inherited from Paul of Thebes, and wore at Easter and Pentecost, Athanasius does not tell us. After this disposition of his property Anthony said to his disciples, "Children, farewell; for Anthony goes away, and will be no more with you." With these words he stretched out his feet and expired with a smiling face, in the year 356, a hundred and five years old. His grave remained for centuries unknown. His last will was thus a protest against the worship of saints and relics, which, however, it nevertheless greatly helped to promote. Under Justinian, in 561, his bones, as the Bollandists and Butler minutely relate, were miraculously discovered, brought to Alexandria, then to Constantinople, and at last to Vienna, in South France; and in the eleventh century, during the raging of an epidemic disease—the so-called holy fire, or St. Anthony's fire—they are said to have performed great wonders.

Athanasius, the greatest man of the Nicene age, concludes his biography of his friend with this sketch of his character: "From this short narrative you may judge how great a man Anthony was, who persevered in the ascetic life from youth to the highest age. In his advanced age he never allowed himself better food nor change of raiment, nor did he even wash his feet. Yet he continued healthy in all his parts. His eyesight

was clear to the end, and his teeth sound, though by long use worn to mere stumps. He retained also the perfect use of his hands and feet, and was more robust and vigorous than those who are accustomed to a change of food and clothing and to washing. His fame spread from his remote dwelling on the lone mountain over the whole Roman empire. What gave him his renown was not learning, nor worldly wisdom, nor human art, but alone his piety toward God. And let all the brethren know that the Lord will not only take holy monks to heaven, but give them celebrity in all the earth, however deep they may bury themselves in the wilderness."

The whole Nicene age venerated in Anthony a model saint. This fact brings out most characteristically the vast difference between the ancient and the modern, the old Catholic and the evangelical Protestant conception of the nature of Christian religion. The specifically Christian element in the life of Anthony, especially as measured by the Pauline standard, is very small. Nevertheless we can but admire the miserable magnificence, the simple, rude grandeur of this hermit sanctity, even in its aberration. Anthony concealed under his sheep-skin a child-like humility, an amiable simplicity, a rare energy of will, and a glowing love to God, which maintained itself for almost ninety years in the absence of all the comforts and pleasures of natural life, and triumphed over all the temptations of the flesh. By piety alone, without the help of education or learning, he became one of the most remarkable and influential men in the history of the ancient Church.

Even heathen cotemporaries could not withhold from him their reverence, and the celebrated philosopher Synesius, afterward a bishop, before his conversion reckoned Anthony among those rare men in whom flashes of thought take the place of reasonings, and natural power of mind makes schooling needless.

The example of Anthony acted like magic upon his generation, and his biography by Athanasius, which was soon translated also into Latin, was a tract for the times. Chrysostom, the prince of ancient preachers, recommended it to all as instructive and edifying reading. Even Augustine, the most evangelical of the fathers, was powerfully affected by the read-



ing of it in his decisive religious struggles, and was decided by it in his entire renunciation of the world.

In a short time, still in the lifetime of Anthony, the deserts of Egypt, from Nitria, south of Alexandria and the wilderness of Scetis, to Lybia and the Thebiad, were peopled with anchorets and studded with cells. A mania for monasticism possessed Christendom, and seized the people of all classes like an epidemic. As martyrdom had formerly been, so now monasticism was, the quickest and surest way to renown upon earth and to eternal reward in heaven. This prospect, with which Athanasius concludes his life of Anthony, abundantly recompensed all self-denial, and mightily stimulated pious ambition. The consistent recluse must continually increase his seclusion. No desert was too scorching, no rock too forbidding, no cliff too steep, no cave too dismal for the feet of these world-hating and man-shunning enthusiasts. It has been supposed that in Egypt the number of anchorets and monks equaled the population of the cities! The natural contrast between the desert and the fertile valley of the Nile was reflected in the moral contrast between the monastic life and the world.

It is unnecessary to recount the lives of all the leading anchorets, since the same features, even to unimportant details, repeat themselves in all. But in the fifth century a new and quite original path was broken by SYMEON, the father of the STYLITES, or pillar-saints, who spent long years, day and night, summer and winter, rain and sunshine, frost and heat, standing on high unsheltered pillars in prayer and penances, and made the way to heaven for themselves so passing hard, that one knows not whether to wonder at their unexampled self-denial, or to pity their ignorance of the Gospel salvation. On this giddy height the anchoretic asceticism reached its completion.

ST. SYMEON THE STYLITE, originally a shepherd on the borders of Syria and Cilicia, when a boy of thirteen years was powerfully affected by the beatitudes which he heard read in the church, and betook himself to a cloister. He lay several days without eating or drinking before the threshold, and begged to be admitted as the meanest servant of the house. He accustomed himself to eat only once a week, on Sunday. During Lent he even went through the whole forty days without

any food ; a fact almost incredible, even for a tropical climate. The first attempt of this kind brought him to the verge of death ; but his constitution conformed itself, and when Theodoret visited him he had solemnized six-and-twenty Lent seasons by total abstinence, and thus surpassed Moses, Elias, and even Christ, who never fasted so but once ! Another of his extraordinary inflictions was to lace his body so tightly that the cord pressed through to his bones, and could be cut off only with the most terrible pains. This occasioned his dismissal from the cloister.

He afterward spent some time as a hermit upon a mountain with an iron chain upon his feet, and was visited there by admiring and curious throngs.

When this failed to satisfy him, he invented, in 423, a new sort of holiness, and lived some two days' journey (forty miles) east of Antioch, for six-and-thirty years, until his death upon a pillar, which at last was nearly forty cubits high ; for the pillar was raised in proportion as he approached heaven and perfection. Here he could never lie or sit, but only stand or lean upon a post, probably a banister, or devoutly bow, in which last position he almost touched his feet with his head, so flexible had his back been made by fasting. A spectator once counted in one day no less than twelve hundred and forty-four such genuflexions of the saint before the Almighty, and then gave up counting. He wore a covering of the skins of beasts, and a chain about his neck. Even the holy sacrament he took upon his pillar. People streamed from afar to witness this standing wonder of the age. He spoke to all classes with the same friendliness, mildness, and love ; only women he never suffered to come within the walls which surrounded his pillar.

From this original pulpit, as a mediator between heaven and earth, he preached repentance twice a day to the astonished spectators, settled controversies, vindicated the orthodox faith, extorted laws even from an emperor, healed the sick, wrought miracles, and converted thousands of heathen Ishmaelites, Iberians, Armenians, and Persians to Christianity, or at least to the Christian name.

All this the celebrated Theodoret relates as an eye-witness during the lifetime of the saint. He terms him the great wonder of the world, and compares him to a candle on a candle-



stick, and to the sun itself, which sheds its rays on every side. He asks the objector to this mode of life to consider that God often uses very striking means to arouse the negligent, as the history of the prophets show; and concludes his narrative with the remark, "Should the saint live longer he may do yet greater wonders, for he is a universal ornament and honor to religion."

He died in 459, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, of a long-concealed and loathsome ulcer on his leg, and his body was brought in solemn procession to the metropolitan Church of Antioch.

Even before his death Symeon enjoyed the unbounded admiration of Christians and heathens, of the common people, of the kings of Persia, and the emperors Theodosius II., Leo, and Marcian, who begged his blessing and his counsel. No wonder that, with his renowned humility, he had to struggle with the temptations of spiritual pride. Once an angel appeared to him in a vision, with a chariot of fire to convey him, like Elijah, to heaven, because the blessed spirits longed for him. He was already stepping into the chariot with his right foot, which on this occasion he sprained, (as Jacob his thigh,) when the phantom of Satan was chased away by the sign of the cross. Perhaps this incident, which the *Acta Sanctorum* gives, was afterward invented to account for his sore, and to illustrate the danger of self-conceit. Hence also the pious monk Nilus, with good reason, reminded the ostentatious pillar-saints of the proverb, "He that exalteth himself shall be abased."

Of the later Stylites the most distinguished were Daniel, (died 490,) in the vicinity of Constantinople, and Symeon the Younger, (died 592,) in Syria. The latter is said to have spent sixty-eight years on a pillar. In the East this form of sanctity perpetuated itself, though only in exceptional cases, down to the twelfth century. The West, so far as we know, affords but one example of a Stylite who, according to Gregory of Tours, lived a long time on a pillar near Treves, but came down at the command of the bishop and entered a neighboring cloister.

With all due admiration for the extraordinary moral heroism displayed by these ancient hermits, it is no recommendation to it that it is without any authority in the Scriptures of truth.

Christ and the apostles never enjoined such excesses either by precept or example. On the other hand, the history of ancient and modern Hindoo asceticism furnish similar phenomena in connection with a false religion. Some of these heathen devotees, we are told by travelers, bury themselves in pits with only small breathing holes at the top; while others, disdaining to touch the vile earth beneath, live in iron cages suspended from trees. Some wear heavy iron collars or fetters, or drag a heavy chain, fastened by one end round their privy parts, to give ostentatious proof of their chastity. Others keep their fists hard shut, until their finger nails grow through the palms of their hands. Some stand perpetually on one leg; others keep their faces turned over one shoulder, until they cannot turn them back again. Some lie on wooden beds, bristling all over with iron spikes; others are fastened for life to the trunk of a tree by a chain, like Symeon to his pillar. Some suspend themselves for half an hour at a time, feet uppermost, or with a hook thrust through their naked backs, over a hot fire. A Jesuit missionary describes a Hindoo saint who had his body inclosed in an iron cage, with his head and feet outside, so that he could walk, but neither sit nor lie down; at night his pious attendants attached a hundred lighted lamps to the outside of the cage, so that their master could exhibit himself walking as the mock-light of the world!

It is impossible to read of these self-imposed penances and sufferings without profound gratitude to Christ, who, in the Gospel, opened to all penitent and believing sinners such a plain and sure road to salvation; and to the Reformers of the sixteenth century, who cleared this road of the many obstructions erected by the pious folly of men in the vain attempt to save themselves.

## ART. III.—THE ANTIQUITY OF MAN.

*Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man.* By Sir CHARLES LYELL, F.R.S. Philadelphia: George W. Childs. 1863.

THE recent discoveries of fossil human remains, and the works of human art found in company with the bones of extinct species of animals, and the presentation of these to the public, together with old facts under new views and new relations, have awakened a lively interest in the question of the antiquity of the human race. The long general acquiescence in the chronology which fixed the limits of man's existence upon the earth to less than seven thousand years has been rather rudely startled by the claims made in some cases for a human antiquity that makes the life of man reach vastly and indefinitely beyond the dates agreed upon for the biblical chronology. The extreme men of the high antiquity school are understood as claiming for the duration of the age of man a period of time as measureless in centuries as the great geological ages, and compared with which the earliest dates of the commonly received historic times are but of yesterday. Others, however, more moderate and precise, claim only from ten to thirty thousand years. But in both cases the definite measurement of the years and centuries of primitive history have been effaced, and the origin of man and his early history pushed back so far beyond all precise periods and positive dates that the pre-historic time has become as indefinite in its duration as the Molluscan, Carboniferous, or Reptilian ages. That pre-historic time has passed into the great time-ratios of geological history in which positive times are exchanged for a succession of periods, and the absolute lengths of centuries for mere relative lengths of epochs. The Age of Man has been extended backward, and he himself made cotemporary with extinct races of gigantic quadrupeds that flourished before the New England rivers had scooped their broad river flats into marginal terraces.

These claims demand attention, and should be considered on scientific grounds, and either confirmed, denied, or withheld on scientific evidence, for they are put forward by earnest, sincere men, and men too devoted to somewhat different lines of study.

The geologist, the zoologist, antiquarian, and historian now may find themselves in the same sphere of investigation, and inquiring on the same subject : namely, Man and his age upon the earth. And the memorials of man thus furnished have a twofold bearing : the one bearing on his original condition, his customs, manners, mode of life and historic changes ; the other on the tracing of the signs of his existence back into periods remote from the received chronology.

These fossil remains of man, comprising bones, implements of stone and flint ; bits of wood, bone, or stone marked by tools ; pottery, bronze and iron implements, lake dwellings, offal remains, are valuable contributions to history. They give large promise of help in filling up some of the blanks of primitive human records ; of converting myths and traditions into veritable history ; of supplying some of the links of that chain of human progress which we call civilization. As we look upon these ancient memorials of our ancestors, rude men of our own blood, our hearts are moved, by the emotions of a common life, as in a clear imagination we gather with them to their crude feasts of fish and fowl and beast and grain ; at their places of sepulture of their dead, honored by the living with the gift of weapons and viands to serve them in the spirit-land ; on their lake dwellings, clustering a distance from the shore into a village, like a faint primeval type of splendid medieval Venice ; at work with fire and stone tools shaping canoes, and then exchanging, in the progress of time, these implements of stone for those of bronze and iron. The geologist and antiquarian are writing human history, and the time is at hand when the writer of ancient history must deal no less with the conclusions of natural science than with traditions and the results of philology in determining the old races of man and their history.

But it is the attempt to place the creation of man in a period anterior to the Biblical Chronology about which we are at present concerned, and of which we propose a brief *résumé* both as to the facts themselves and the interpretation of these facts as given us in the present condition of the question.

#### THE DANISH PEAT AND SHELL MOUNDS—SWISS LAKE DWELLINGS.

The deposits of peat in Denmark vary in depth from ten to thirty feet, and in it at various depths lie trunks of trees, some

now natives of Denmark, others not. Among the trees not now native and buried in the peat-mosses is the Scotch fir, (*pinus sylvestris*.) This Scotch fir was afterward supplanted by the sessile variety of the common oak, and this oak in its turn by the common beech. This beech alone belongs to historical times, and yet it is supposed that the human period extended back to the times when the Scotch fir grew along the borders of the peat-mosses, for a stone implement of man's make was found buried in the peat below a trunk of the Scotch fir. If the stone implement lies exactly where it was lost, then the human period reaches backward through the many centuries required for the formation of the beds of peat, and the exchanges of the fir for the oak and of that for the beech.

Another class of human memorials are the Shell mounds, "Kitchen-refuse-heaps," (Kjökkenmødding,) found along the shores of nearly all the Danish Islands. These mounds contain the shells of the oyster, cockle, and other mollusks, mixed up with the bones of quadrupeds, (but not of extinct species,) birds, and fish, and scattered through these are "flint knives, hatchets, and other instruments of stone, bone, horn, and wood, with fragments of coarse pottery mixed with charcoal and cinders, but never any implements of bronze, still less of iron." The stone hatchets and knives have been sharpened by rubbing. The mounds are from three to ten feet high, and some of them one thousand feet long and from one hundred and fifty to two hundred wide, and are always near the shore. The proofs that these mounds are of considerable antiquity are, first, they are not found on those parts of the coast of the Western Ocean where the waves are slowly eating away the land; secondly, the shells, as of the oyster, cockle, and mussel, are of the size which they now have in the ocean, whereas the same species now met with in the adjoining parts of the Baltic have only a third of the ancient size, being stunted by the quantity of fresh water poured by the rivers into the Baltic; hence the inference that in the days of these eaters the ocean had a freer access to the Baltic than at present. Such a fact carries us back of known historical record.

Still another class of human memorials are the ancient dwellings built on piles in the shallow parts of many Swiss lakes, where to this day, under favorable circumstances, the wooden

piles may still be seen. These have once supported villages of an unknown date, but most of them belonged to the age of stone implements, for hundreds of these implements, resembling those of the Danish peat mosses and shell mounds, have been dredged up from the mud in which the piles are driven. Such instruments are axes, hammers, celts; and among other remains are pieces of rude pottery, fishing tackle, such as bits of cord and hooks made of bone; masses of charred wood, probably the timbers on which the cabins were built, and which were probably destroyed by fire. In western and central Switzerland, however, the implements are of bronze, and the piles themselves are not so much decayed as those where the stone implements are found. The number of these lake dwellings where the bronze implements are found is upward of seventy.

One historical use of the study of these remains of human workmanship and customs, whether found in the sand dunes on the coast, in shell-mounds in Irish and Swiss lakes, in peat-beds and in alluvial and other formation, has been the establishment for Western Europe of the chronological succession of periods styled the Ages of Stone, of Bronze, and of Iron, and named from the material of the implements in use by the natives.\* But from the fact that these implements of stone have as yet been found in central and northern Europe, and not in Asia, the terms Age of Stone and of Bronze properly belong as yet only to the history of Europe.

Certain archaeologists and geologists have endeavored to give positive dates to the Ages of Stone and Bronze. The Stone Age reaches back about, but not over seven thousand years. The most elaborate calculation to estimate definitely in years the antiquity of the bronze and stone periods is that made by M. Morlot respecting the delta of the Tinière, a torrent flowing into the Lake of Geneva near Villeneuve. This small delta is in the shape of a flattened cone, having a regular internal structure containing three layers of vegetable soil, each of which must once have formed the surface of the cone. The first layer is five inches thick and four feet below the surface, and contains Roman tiles and coin, and hence belongs to the Roman period. The second layer is six inches thick, and ten feet from the surface, and contains fragments of unvarnished pottery and

\* Lyell's *Antiquity of Man*, chap. ii.

instruments of bronze, and hence belongs to the Bronze period. The third layer is about six inches thick and nineteen feet from the surface, and in it were found rude pottery, pieces of charcoal, broken bones, and hence classed from these and other remains with the Stone period. M. Morlot, assuming the Roman period to represent an antiquity of from sixteen to eighteen hundred years, and by the simple calculation of times proportionate to the depths below the surface, assigns to the Bronze period a date of about three thousand five hundred years, and to the Stone period between five thousand and seven thousand years. Besides this chronological computation, others have been made which agree in the main with this one of M. Morlot.

But this antiquity of the Stone period, as determined by the antiquity of the Roman period, is too great. For there is a strange historico-antiquarian assumption in this case in regard to the Roman remains found in the fluviatile drift, and which had been washed down into the delta from the ruins of some Roman buildings. The river and its delta lying on the eastern side of Lake Geneva, the Roman ruins would much more naturally date from the decline of the Roman power and customs than from the time of their active controlling occupancy, and the buildings, whatever they were, would most naturally fall into decay, and the tiles thus be subject to be washed by floods down into the delta at the time of this decline. Now Villeneuve is near the southern border of ancient Helvetia, and up to the fifth century Roman language, habits, and manners prevailed in this region. Nor would there be a probability of such structural ruins until after 496 A. D., when the Franks took possession of the country, and the old inhabitants lost their nationality and became the serfs or subjects of their more northern Frankish conquerors. We may then assume for the date of the dilapidation of the Roman buildings from 500 to 600 A. D. Assuming this date from which to calculate the age of the Stone period, we have the average proportionate to the dates taken by Morlot from 4000 to 5000; or at an average, 2500 B. C. This brings the Stone age down to the historic traditions of early European times. And if in addition to this we suppose that the first formations were much more rapidly formed than the later ones, which we are entitled to do,



from the physical description given by the term "flattened cone-shaped delta," there will be no noticeable disagreement with the common chronology. Moreover, if we accept the Septuagint chronology, which we prefer for many reasons to the Usherian one, and thereby add at least six hundred years to our time before Christ, then all difficulty whatever vanishes, and these human remains and memorials are nothing more than elucidations of the early history of our race, in nowise disagreeing with its commonly accepted antiquity.

#### THE ALLUVIAL PLAIN OF THE NILE.

Some years ago shafts were sunk and borings made in the land of Egypt through the Nile mud. These borings penetrated to the depth of seventy feet and less, and in numerous cases pieces of burnt brick and pottery were brought up from sixty to seventy feet below the surface. The average increase of Nile mud formed from the sedimentary deposit during the annual inundation has been estimated vaguely at from two and one-fourth to six inches a century, which would give us the existence of an Egyptian people from twelve thousand to thirty thousand years ago. Here in this land of myths we have a proposed antiquity to which the European Stone period is quite modern, and which reaches far back of the earliest records of the first king as Herodotus gives it, copying from the Egyptian priests.

We visit the region where poetry, and myth, and tradition have placed a most ancient civilization—Egypt, the Black Land, the Land of the Nile: we search its royal sepulchers, its manifold history written in funeral records, in kingly genealogies, in inscriptions and in the thousand relics preserved by domestic life, whether in picture, sculpture, or the embalmed remains of the dead, and we find ourselves thrown back to a date far beyond any received date of history.\*

An answer to the evidences of the high antiquity thus given by the excavations in the valley of the Nile has been attempted on the supposition that bricks and bits of pottery might have fallen into the ancient wells which were common in that land, and a shaft might have been sunk in one of these. But this solution is not admissible; for seventy out of the ninety-five borings were away from the sites of towns and villages, and

\* Races of the Old World.—BRACE.

"pieces of burnt brick and pottery were extracted almost everywhere and from all depths, even sixty feet below the surface."

But admitting that these fragments of human art were obtained at the depths above indicated, the evidence thus furnished is too uncertain for any dogmatic assertion whatever of a vast antiquity, as will appear partly from the fact that no accurate, chronometric scale has yet been found to measure the annual or centurial deposits of Nile sediment. Egyptologists regard the conclusions as to average of the matter thrown down in a Nilotic inundation as vague, owing to the great variation at different places and times; to the possibility that an arm of the river might have once been where later the borings were made, and also to the fact that the Egyptians were accustomed to inclose the areas where the temples, statues, and obelisks stood with an embankment, which, if the water should break over, a deposit would be formed in a few days which it would take a century or more to form on the plain; and it is from the deposits near the base of these ancient monuments that the standards of comparative measure have been attempted to be made. A still greater uncertainty arises from the geological fact of subsidence and upheaval; that is to say, the successive changes of level may have been so great that no comparison can be made directly between the modern and ancient rates of the alluvial deposit. A standard of comparison has been attempted by determining the amount of Nile mud which had accumulated a few miles above the apex of the delta, and about the bases of certain ancient monuments, during the last three thousand years when these monuments are supposed to have been built. The centurial rate of increase in this Nilotic sediment is used as a scale for approximately measuring the time for the alluvial formations above the lowest of the ancient relics alluded to. Now the bulk of the area of the delta of the Nile is never reached by the river inundations, yet the whole of it has been formed of river mud, so that the delta of the Nile has been subject during the centuries to a slow upheaval, and with this gradual upheaval there has been a corresponding thinness of the river flood, and consequently thinness of silt-deposit; and since the data of comparison were taken near Cairo, where the deposit of each flood is as thin as a sheet of drawing paper, owing to the shallowness of the flood,

there is no comparison possible for the annual deposit of ancient times, when the floods were deeper and more stagnant. Or, again, there may have been a local, gradual, unrecorded subsidence of the land in the earliest historic times, and in this case the greater depth of the flood and the slower motion of the waters would have formed the accumulations rapidly; so that we have no good ground for drawing conclusions as to the time for the accumulations of the whole mass, seeing that the conditions of accumulation have in all probability been utterly unlike in ancient and in modern times.\* And this claim to a high Antiquity of Man, made from the exhumation of Egyptian relics and works of art, must be held in abeyance, not only as clearly not proven, but as highly improbable, from a candid interpretation of the facts on which the archæological evidence rests.

REMAINS OF HUMAN ART AND OF EXTINCT RACES OF QUADRUPEDS IN THE VALLEY OF THE SOMME.

The valley of the Somme, in Picardy, France, has become famous by the discovery of a large number of flint implements, the works of barbaric human art, resting in beds of undisturbed clay, gravel, and sand, and coexisting with the remains of extinct species of animals which were supposed to have flourished untold centuries before the Age of Man. This juxtaposition in a geological drift is regarded as a coincidence of existence in time, and thus the human period is put backward into the post-tertiary and made to measure centuries where the common chronology gives years. These flint implements are rudely formed spear-heads, knives, and hatchets, and are found imbedded in an old river-bed in company with the remains of the extinct elephant, rhinoceros, the cave hyena, and lion, not now living, and other animals of existing species. "These rudely chipped lumps of chalk flint were fashioned to serve the functions of hatchets, knives, and other tools, and it is conjectured of instruments of war likewise. They occur in considerable numbers in the gravel quarries or sand pits of Abbeville and Amiens, and also at a few other spots bordering the rude valley of the Somme, more sparsely on the Seine, at Paris, and at one locality in England, namely, Hoxne, in

\* British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1860.

Suffolk.\* Those in North America, including the "Natches veteran, are not by American geologists considered sufficiently well authenticated to require notice."† This bed or drift consists of four strata: the lowest is a bed of fragmentary chalk flint, containing flint sand and flint tools, and occasionally blocks of hard Eocene sandstone; and with these are found the bones of gigantic mammalian quadrupeds, and the whole stratum rests on an uneven chalk floor that bears the evident marks of a violent erasive action of water. Above this is a stratum of grayish and brownish sand, with some species of fresh water and land shells, identical with species now existing in France and other places. This sand bears the marks of a quick deposition, the laminae bending and waving to follow the eroded waving floor of the gravel on which they lie. There are but few of the worked flints or quadrupedal fossils in this stratum. Next above is another gravel, composed of chalk flints in a tossed, broken condition, and bearing the marks of turbulent waters, as of swift and eddying currents. The uppermost deposit is a stratum of brown clay, destitute of mammalian remains and of flint tools, but containing "regularly shapen stone coffins of unquestioned Roman origin, often containing a skeleton in a well conserved state."

Now from the evidences given by these gravel pits, as well as from other geological and antiquarian sources, it is claimed by Lyell and others that these chipped flints are tools of human origin and use; that the imbedded collocation of these tools and mammalian fossil remains proves that the makers of the tools and the possessors of the bones were cotemporaneous; that, consequently, an immense antiquity must be assigned the human race, far transcending the present brief chronology, in order to make man coeval with those extinct quadrupeds.

First, as to the natural or artificial agency in the shaping of these flints. To the testimony of their human manufacture there is scarcely a dissenting voice among scientific men. They

\* Blackwood, Oct. 1860. This report in Blackwood was written by Professor H. D. Rogers, who visited the valley of the Somme and spent some time there examining the flint implements and the diluvium containing them, for the sole purpose of deciding upon their reputed traces of primeval man. It is to this article that we are much indebted for evidence against the positive claims made for a very remote antiquity of the race.

† Dana's Manual of Geology.

are of a few generic types, and the manner in which they are trimmed is peculiar, and betrays a design which no geological cause or the mechanical natural agencies could give. About 2,000 of these flint-tools have been found, and from the recurrence of the same shape and size of the several types, with the absence of recognizable transitional forms between them and the mere chalk flints, or rubble of the quarries, it is pretty generally assented to that their shaping is of artificial origin. The two prevailing forms are the spear-heads, varying in length from six to eight inches; and the oval shaped, much resembling the stone implements now used as hatchets and tomahawks by the native Australians. These flint-tools have a general bilateral symmetry, such as could only be produced by chipping flakes from the sides, which flaking makes the tool a tolerably efficient saw as well as knife. From the evidence given, it is concluded that these tools belonged to savage tribes that once inhabited Western Europe.

Secondly, as to the cotemporaneity of the users of these tools with the extinct mammals whose bones are found buried with them. The question then here is this: Were the makers or users of these flint-tools dwellers in the same land, and at the same time, with the extinct elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, and other quadrupeds which geologists, since the time of Cuvier, have been agreed passed out of existence in Western Europe unnamable centuries ago, so that the same inundation, or whatever the destructive agency may have been that destroyed the one, destroyed the other also, and buried them in their first burial together? Or did the animals perish first, and then some after-flood wash up their remains, and re-entomb them with the later remains of human workmanship in the same diluvial grave? Geology has no positive, perfectly decisive answer to these queries either way. From their mixed collocation in the drift, either mode of deposit might have been the true one. But before adducing the testimony which the deposit itself gives as to the method of that drift formation, it is well to refer to the two extreme modes of geological changes in the earth's surface, namely, the secular or uniform, and the paroxysmal.

The secular movements are those slow, gradual changes of the surface which require centuries or long periods of time to

accomplish. The forces of nature, in their quiet, equable, slow modes of action, elevate or depress the land, erode the valleys, flex the rocky strata into mountain ranges, and accumulate beds of drift, only by the lapse of an immense duration. Such secular movements are even now in progress. In Sweden the extreme southern part is slowly sinking, the northern part rising. Since the Christian era parts of the Italian coast have suffered elevation and depression to an extent of twenty or thirty feet in each direction. If the deposits in the valley of the Somme are of the slow secular formation, then a high antiquity must be conceded to the flint implements buried so far beneath the surface. The paroxysmal changes, or those which suddenly, rapidly, violently take place, are often in close connection with earthquakes, sudden inundations, and express the quicker, more convulsive, and violent energies of nature. The mutations of the surface in these cases are not slow and uniform, but rapid, brief, and irregular. The waters, in their paroxysmal action, are not a quiet inflow, but a surging, rapid, turbulent current, which forms in a few hours or years an accumulation of sediment that would be a myriad of years in forming under the slow secular mood. If the deposits in the valley of the Somme are referable to a turbulent paroxysmal action, then a brief antiquity only need be assigned it. Now the deposit inclosing the flints and bones has all the signs of a *turbulent diluvial action*.

The upper beds of the chalk formations on which they rest have been torn up and broken into a fragmentary mass or rubble, a mixture of rolled lumps of chalk and nodules of chalk flint. The surface of the chalk is uneven, with shallow troughs and basins hollowed in it as by a passing, erosive flood moving with a strong eddying current. The diluvial deposit itself consists of fine and coarse gravel and sand, rolled flints, subangular fragments of all sizes, not *sorted*, but promiscuously mixed, dipping and abutting at high angles among themselves, and inclining toward nearly all points of the compass—features, all of them, plainly implying a *violent and transient surge*. As if to offer a still more unequivocal proof of the energy of the transporting current, this wildly-tossed gravel contains scattered boulders of compact sandstone, and vary from one foot to three feet in diameter, and the largest weighing half a ton. The upper surface of the gravel is more undulating than the lower, and, what is of especial significance, the rude layers within the deposit follow imperfectly the undulations of the upper boundary. To all these marks of diluvial action must be added those presented by the fossil bones and teeth, and by the



flint implements, very few of which latter are destitute of traces of attrition with the gravel, while so many of them have been so much rubbed down as to retain but faintly the features of works of human art. The argument here is, that by pointing to an agency—an incursion of the by no means distant ocean—perfectly capable of invading the land within historic time, and mixing up its more recent surface objects with previously buried relics of an earlier or pre-historic date, we are debarred from assuming that the two classes of monuments were coeval, and that from the imputed age of the one, we can infer the antiquity of the other. It is far from our meaning here that we can disprove the contemporaneity of the flint-shaping men and the great antediluvian quadrupeds. We only assert—but assert confidently—that the phenomena utterly fail to *prove it*. If, therefore, it can be shown on an interpretation of the geology, in accordance with sound physical principles, that a re-dressing of the deposit may have taken place, the verdict must be that this coexistence in time is *not established*, and the high antediluvian antiquity of man must be cast out of the high court of science with a verdict, *Not proven*.—Prof. H. D. Rogers.

Thirdly, as to the great antiquity of these mammalian remains, and consequently of the human implements. Even if we admit the contemporaneity of these, the very remote antiquity of the extinct quadrupeds does not follow; for, until recently, these animal remains were never found associated with human remains, these latter being found only in the more superficial deposits of recent times. And this fact of dissociation in different strata led geologists to assign a comparatively high antiquity to these last animals. But since in certain caves, and in beds of alluvium, their remains are found together, and this juxtaposition apparently indicates that man began to exist before the extinction of these post-tertiary races, which is the more natural inference, the greater recency of the old elephant or the greater antiquity of man? Is it not as rational to bring forward the age of the elephant as to push backward the age of man? Now, since some of the contemporaries of these extinct mammals have become extinct in the historic period, it is not at all unwarrantable to suppose a period not very remote for their extinction. The aurochs (*bos bison*) of Europe, one of the contemporaries of the old elephant, (*elephas primigenius*), would have been exterminated long since but for the special protection of man. The *bos primigenius* of the post-tertiary, supposed to be the urus described by Cesar in his "Commentaries," is now quite extinct. Yet the



remains of these historic animals occur with the remains of man, and with the bones of the extinct post-tertiary, in such a way as not to warrant a different age being assigned to them. The diluvium of the geologists, being found full of the bones of gigantic animals no longer existing, and not a bone or tool of man being found there, was regarded as very ancient as compared with man; but now when these are found coexisting, the natural assumption is that of the relative recency of the extinct animals, and not the great age of living man. The whole case, then, on the supposition that the earliest men and the latest of the animals were coeval, briefly stated, and as in accordance with the facts of geology and zoology, is this: The post-tertiary period, subdivided into the Glacial, Champlain, and Terrace epochs, was the one in which these huge land mammals lived, and their meridian was probably reached in the Champlain epoch; but the Terrace epoch, which introduces the age of man, saw their decline; and likewise in this Terrace epoch, which was the transitional stage between the post-tertiary and the age of man, we may suppose that the vanishing life of these animals lapped over on to the initial period of human life. As the evidences are now summed up, the verdict for the immense antiquity of man, and the extreme remoteness of the time of the extinction of European mammals, is *not proven*.

#### CAVE EVIDENCE.

Other evidences relied upon as favoring a remote existence of man upon the earth, are those derived from the caverns in which parts of human skeletons and human relics, such as pottery, flint arrow-heads, and knives have been found with the bones of ancient mammals before referred to, and sometimes found in such *relative positions and conditions* as to preclude (it is averred) any other supposition than that these were their first and unchanged entombments. These caverns exist in various places in the British Isles, France, Sicily, and South America. The argument here is twofold, as in the cases mentioned before: first, the implements of art and the fossil remains of man being mingled in one common tomb with the fossil remains of races of animals not now living, these animals and man must have been coeval; secondly and consequently, the animals belong to a remote antiquity, and man shares their

age, and the date of his introduction on the earth is thus put back, at the shortest, many centuries prior to the records of the Mosaic chronology. But mere juxtaposition is no safe criterion of cotemporaneity. Sometimes the human bones and implements are confusedly mingled with animal remains, sometimes above and sometimes below them. These animals were the cave bear, hyena, elephant, rhinoceros, and existing species of beaver, boar, etc. The late Dr. Schmerling of Liège, a "skillful anatomist and paleontologist," has given us a description of over forty of those bone caverns, in which the bones of men were so rolled and scattered as to forbid the idea of their having been intentionally buried there, and his inference was that the caverns of Liège had received their organic contents, mixed with mud and sand and stones, and also land-shells, by floods whose streams had swept these into them from the surrounding country, there being chasms or fissures connecting the caves with the surface of the land. In the contents of such caves there is no evidence of cotemporaneousness of life. Most of the caves bear evidence of inundations, and seem to have served in some cases, as in Franconia, as the channels of subterranean rivers, and thus the remains of animals belonging to very different periods would be brought into a common tomb. And further, if man and these carnivorous animals had lived together in the same land, and found a common tomb, we should expect the bones of man to exhibit the marks of being gnawed or broken, but the indubitable marks of gnawing are not to be seen. And if they lie side by side, we may suppose, and the supposition is within the warranty of geologic changes, that the cave was the hiding and burial place of the beast, and a flow of waters brought in the sand and mud for its gradual burial. Ages after it might have become the habitat of man and his burial-place, and then some subsequent flood rushing through the cavern would mingle their bones to a common level, or reverse their relative position. The high position of some of these caves above the level of rivers is readily accounted for by the upward movement of land which many localities are even now undergoing; and if this upward movement was rapid, fissures might be opened into which fossil remains of different ages might easily become mingled. And when we consider that these caves were in the earlier ages used as places of habi-

tation, burial, concealment, and defense, it is easy to conceive the mingling of human with brute fossils. And still further, upon what ground must we admit the great antiquity of these animals not now living? If the *elephas primigenius* did not live in Gaul when Cesar conquered it, might it not have been a tenant there 2,000 years or more before, when, according to ethnographic and linguistic evidence, a great tide-wave of emigration preceded the Celtic one over Western Europe? Says Prof. Owen: "They had evidence, from the writings of Julius Cesar, of the existence in England 2000 years ago of two gigantic species of ox and one of reindeer, and he himself was satisfied that they once had a native British lion, all of which are now extinct in this country, and he saw nothing in the remains which had been discovered at Brixham (on which considerable stress is laid by the high antiquity advocates) to lead him to suppose that these animals lived before the historic period."\* Examine the evidences where we may, and a natural, unstrained method of interpretation will yet allow the old chronology of the race to rest. The summing up of the evidence claimed in favor of an antiquity of man which places his existence on the earth long prior to the received dates is, that the claim is not sustained.

#### THE PRE-ADAMITE MAN.

But if the mammoth, the great cave bear, and the gigantic quadrupeds which have never lived within the historic memory of man, did have their meridian and extinction long prior to the received dates of man's origin; and if the men of the flint age—those makers of the clumsy flint tools—were coeval with them, living fifty or a hundred thousand years ago, or it may be living before geologic agencies had given the present features of land and sea, and when both man and mammoth may have walked on dry land from England to France, or Spain, what then? The Darwinian geologists are ready with an answer both as to fact and theory. They hold not only the doctrine of progression, or the gradual and continuous evolution from a lower up toward a higher type of being, but they hold its twin doctrine of transmutation, or the passage from one type of being to another, through the transitional processes

\* British Association, Leeds, 1858.

of variation and selection. Man thus, by a continuous series of developments, has been derived in an unbroken line of descent from the lower animals. And, accordingly, to go no further back in the series, the ape family are his ancestors, and between them and him were a race of low-browed, small-brained savages of which the fossil man found in the cave of Neanderthal is an illustrative type. It is true that this Neanderthal skull is too isolated and exceptional, and its age too uncertain, to give any secure ground by which to firmly establish the theory by fact. Nevertheless, the theory is held to be consistent, that the further back we can trace man, the line of that backward descent will be a continual convergence toward, and a final coincidence with apish, anthropoid quadrumana, and therefore the Neanderthal skull is typical of the inferior races which serve as links between Chimpanzee and man. But that skull, so low and narrow in the forehead, and with so vile a slope in the facial angle, we doubt not can find its congeners in the Cornwall mines or London city. And the knowledge of this fact, and the absence of other like fossil skulls, and the presence of fair Caucasian-shaped ones, [as the Engis and other crania found in a like situation, and apparently of an equal antiquity,] and also the almost utter absence of reliably supporting evidence for their theory, have induced the transmutationists generally to use the Neanderthal man simply as an illustrative, not an actual type, of that progressive development which evolves the philosopher from the frog. The sum of the whole matter is this: Science affords no reliable evidence of a physiological transition from apes to man, the Natches and the Neanderthal men of "perhaps 100,000 years" notwithstanding.

There is another supposition in regard to Pre-Adamite man that requires a brief statement only; for it is only a hypothesis having a strong dash of imaginative daring, deriving its support from certain analogical hints in the typical progressions of animal and vegetable life, and framed to meet some supposable, future definite collision between the accepted conclusions of science and the interpretations of the first chapters of Genesis. It is this: Man is not "one of the primates alongside of the monkeys; he stands alone, the Archon of mammals," the sole species of the genus homo, and as such the Scriptures give us his genealogy, and all that they affirm refers to

the existing race only. They are utterly silent as to the inferior human races which lived on the planet before the Adamic one. This race, or these races, were swept from the earth before Adam appeared, and became the head of the present family—the successor, but not the offspring, of lower, more primordial races—and to him alone belong the words of Scripture; while to those barbarians, the users of flint knives, and hunters of mammoth and auroch, and collectors of Danish refuse heaps, and owners of ape-like skulls, death-sleepers in caves and in drift with extinct rhinoceros and bear and reindeer, belong the words of that antiquarian geology which adopts the theory of the high antiquity of man. But when the proofs of this theory are given, it will then be time enough to examine its claims. It is at present a “philosophic vision,” and as a scientific question there are not data enough for a dogmatic decision.

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#### ART. IV.—THE EMOTIONAL ELEMENT IN HEBREW TRANSLATION.

[FOURTH ARTICLE.]

ISAIAH XXI AND JOB IV.

AMONG the Hebrew modes of emotional expression, the most difficult of translation, though the most effective when felt and understood, are those that arise from what may be called the Shemitic conception of time, as reckoned, not from an absolute present, but from an assumed shifting present, suggested by the interest of the narration or the emotion of the narrator. As it appears in the Old Testament, it is of two species, which may be described as the *abrupt infinitive*, having, seemingly, no regard to time at all, and the *subjective future*, which ever presents a futurity in fact, or an expectancy in feeling, to the standpoint assumed by the speaker.

The first presents what may be called a *standing*, the second a *moving* picture. Both give us the appearance of soliloquizing language, whether of strong emotion, in which case it will be abrupt and startling, or of musing meditation,

when it will present more appearance of method, but still without those connectives which make the logical, the didactic, or the calmly historical style.

Examples of the abrupt infinitive are found, to some extent, in the coldest languages; but sometimes we cannot help regarding them as affectations of speech, designed to imitate spirit and emotion rather than as true and hearty expressions of them. They abound in Sallust, where we have frequently such sentences as these: *Igitur reges populi finitimi bello tentare*; at *Romani domi militiaeque intente festinare, parare, alius alium hortari*, *hostibus obviam ire*, *libertatem, patriam, parentes, armis tegere*. Such a mode was, doubtless, thought to give an air of animation, or a feeling of vigor; but when emotion is really wanting in the writer, as we feel to be the case with this artificial historian—so different, in all respects, from the Hebrew prophets—we come to regard it as rhetorical rather than eloquent.

In Homer they are introduced less frequently, but always with a fine effect, because there is ever something in the preceding or succeeding facts that operates like the preparation and resolution of the grammatical dissonance. Take, as a very plain, yet significant example, (*Iliad*, xvii, 691,) where Menelaus, in the alarm and hurry of the battle-field, says to Antilochus—

ἀλλὰ σὺγ' ἀψ' Ἀχιλλῆϊ θεῶν ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν  
εἰπεῖν κ. τ. λ.

Literally, "But you, running to tell Achilles quickly, that he may soonest place the naked corpse in safety by the ships." It is the mode, in grammars and scholia, to explain this as "the infinitive used for the imperative." Such a canon may do, indeed, as a mere mnemonic rule of short-hand parsing; but it fails utterly in this, that it does not point out what there is in the sentence that makes a demand for this seeming irregularity. Again, it is explained as a case of "ellipsis of the governing word." But still the question remains, What is gained in clearness, emphasis, or power, that this abrupt style of speech should be resorted to in certain cases? The poet never thought of any such explanation. It may be doubted whether Homer would have understood the scholiast or grammarian who should have thus reduced to rule his impetuous, irregular, and impassioned movement. Why is the governing word left



out? The answer is, that an *unusual* emphasis intended for a certain word, or a certain idea, must lead to some anomaly in construction, if the writer would avoid the weakening effect of attempting the same thing by means of epithets and paraphrases. It is the mode that nature and feeling prompt for drawing attention to it, thus isolating it, as it were, from the more common modes of expression that may precede or follow it. In doing this, the same number of words is to be preserved; for conciseness is essential to energy. Emotion will not bear any thing that looks formal or studied. A logical structure immediately makes *thought* predominant at the expense of *feeling*, and this, in the supposed cases, is not what we want. To effect that prominence of certain words which is demanded for the pictorial effect, there is required an *anomalous*, that is, an *uneven*, or broken sentence. This is to be transferred, in the best way we can, to another language, and that is the best translation which, with the least sacrifice of *thought*, preserves the most of that irregular literality on which the *feeling* depends.

Take, for example, the passage already quoted from Homer, (*Iliad*, xvii, 691.) Here, besides the command, there is to be given to the agent, personally, a peculiar prominence. *Σὺ . . . εἰπὲν*—"you to tell." It is yours, Antilochus, above all other men, to tell Achilles the sad fact of his comrade's death. Here is not only command, but the *reason* for it; here is the emotional energy with which it is given, all preserved in the startling form of the sentence; as though the din of the conflict, so fiercely waged over the slain warrior, would not allow time for connectives, or the regularity of thought necessary for formal governing words.

This abrupt infinitive may express a still more peculiar and emotional emphasis than is required in examples like the one quoted from Homer. And so we often find it in Hebrew, which, in boldness of phraseology, goes beyond almost every other language. Take, for example, Job xl, i: "And the Lord answered Job and said," *הָרַב עִם יְהוָה*,\* which is so tamely as well as erroneously rendered in our translation, "Shall he that contendeth with the Almighty instruct him?"

\* *הָרַב*. It is the infinitive Kal, as in Judges xi, 25—*הָרַב עִם יִשְׂרָאֵל*—"What! fight—fight with Israel!" The *ו*, in both cases, is the particle of sur-



This is not the style. It is not a question; it is not an assertion, nor a command, but a pure exclamation, that bursts from the storm-cloud, after this long enumeration of the great works of God. It is an expression of indignant astonishment at the murmuring human audacity. "To contend with the Almighty!" It is this simple, startling infinitive;\* and any change or addition only obscures the meaning, and weakens the force of the reproof. "Contend with the Almighty! O complainer!" "He that reproveth God, let him answer it." And then, in perfect keeping with this sharp challenge, comes the response of Job: "Lo, I am vile; what *shall* I answer thee. I put my hand upon my mouth. Once have I spoken, but I will not reply; twice—but I will answer no more." I will contend no more.

One great use of these abrupt infinitives, where a number occur together, is to denote vivid contrasts, to which attention is drawn by the appearance of such broken words placed in unusual forms. We venture to think that we have here the true key to the right interpretation of that difficult passage, Isaiah xxi, 5, so incoherent, as it stands in our Bibles, and apparently so unmeaning. It is a series of these broken infinitives, without any governing word, and with hardly anything that can be called syntax belonging to them. The speaker seems unconscious of everything else but a strange scene of mingled opposites that rises before his prophetic vision. Under the awe and excitement produced by it, he is talking to himself. Now,

prise. Our translators have taken רִסֹּר as a verb, but it is a noun in the vocative, formed like גִּבּוֹר, Gen. x, 9; Isa. ix, 5. It is an indignant address—O complainer! O reprover!

\* Conant, in his very excellent translation of the book of Job, renders it: "Will the reprover contend with the Almighty?" So Umbreit, "Will nun mit dem All Mächtigen der Tadler rechten?" Ewald, still better: "Will hadern mit dem Höchsten er der Tadler?" "Will he quarrel with the Highest? the fault-finder!" The difference between Ewald and Umbreit shows how much more of point and force may be given to a sentence by a very slight change in the words, or even in their collocation. All of these translators, however, unnecessarily change from the literal infinitive form, and so make it a question instead of an exclamation.

Gesenius remarks, that the infinitive thus in connection with its subject noun is rare, and besides this place, he cites Ezek. i, 14. But, if our view be correct, it is the vocative, instead of the direct subject, and this changes the whole aspect of the case. In Ezek. i, 14, הַחַיִּים רָצוּ וְשָׁבוּ, the noun may be taken as the nominative independent, and the infinitives treated as substantives: "And as for the living creatures, their *running* and *returning* was as the appearance of lightning."

the soliloquizing style, though solemn and earnest, is generally calm and meditative. Here, however, it is passionate and abrupt. It indicates astonishment and alarm. The seer seems like one in terror at his own ideals. He calls out in perturbation, as though the scene were actually before him, and his voice could reach the unconscious participants. One after another, in quick succession, arise the vivid pictures, and each one brings out from him its cry of astonishment, mingled with warning to the actors: ערך השלחן צפה הצפיה אכול שתה קרמו השרים משורו מנן. This is rendered in our version by a series of undistinguished, uncontrasted imperatives: "Prepare the table; watch the watch; eat, drink; arise, ye princes, and anoint the shield." Now, they are not imperatives, but exclamations, properly expressed, and to be rendered as infinitives. Instead, too, of this apparent unconnected rhapsody, the preparing the table, the appointment of the watch, the eating and drinking, the rising and anointing the shield, must be in some kind of contrast, and can only make sense by being so regarded. This, however, is inconsistent with their being all parts of one command, or one series of commands. Besides, there would be no reason in a change from the infinitive form (as given by the Masoretic pointing) to the direct imperative (and that, too, plural number) in the last two. Now let the reader take them just as they are, only supplying that punctuation which is necessary to mark the contrasts that are in the things themselves, and must, therefore, be supposed to have been in the mind of the speaker. "To set the table! to appoint the watch; to eat! to drink! arise, ye princes, and anoint the shield." The first two are in direct contrast. The one is the preparation for the banquet, as it passes before the prophetic vision; the other, the prophet's own exclamation, in view of what would be far more suitable for such a time of foreseen danger. So of the third and fourth taken together as followed by the direct imperatives in the fifth and sixth. It is the language of one crying out to himself, as he stands upon his watch-tower and sees the vivid panorama passing before him. He verbally paints the scene, and mingles his own ejaculations with it. The reader must put himself in his place, and then he will feel the emotion that is roused by these broken infinitives, just as it is presented in the Hebrew. He wants no gov-

erning word, no logical connectives, no grammatical fulcra of any kind, for these would only weaken the feeling, while really adding nothing to the thought. In a sentence of low animation such logical helps might be in demand; but here the emotion holds up the thought, and makes it clear in the light of its own vividness.

A fuller explanation, however, of such a sentence requires that we should go further back into a survey of the whole chapter. As the passage is one of curious interest, on many accounts, we hope our readers will have patience with such a running commentary. The opening, *מִשַּׁב מִדְּבַר יָם*, rendered "the burthen of the desert of the sea," (*onus deserti maris*), has been variously explained. The prophecy, beyond all doubt, relates to Babylon, and, therefore, it has been supposed that *מִדְּבַר יָם* must be a name of Babylon itself. The opinion is as old as Hieronymus, who refers to Jeremiah li, 36, where God says of Babylon, "I will dry up her sea," a kind of language supposed to be used because they vauntingly called the Euphrates their sea, even as the Egyptians called the Nile their sea, and the Arabians still style it *El bahar*. Rosenmüller and Lowth maintain the same view, and to them the reader is referred for the chief authorities and arguments in its support. We cannot, however, agree with it. Although it is thus said, "I will dry up *their sea*," in reference to their own boast, yet nowhere in the Bible is Babylon itself, or the land of Babylonia, called "the sea," much less "the desert of the sea," which seems to have in it no propriety at all as a name of that splendid city and empire. All difficulty, however, is avoided, while a wonderful pictorial vividness is given to the prophecy, if we regard *מִדְּבַר יָם*, "the desert of the sea," as the name of the *direction* in which the vision comes, rather than that of its locality. A glance at the map here will show this better than any argument. Between Jerusalem and Babylon there was then, as there is now, an immense untraversed desert, lying east of the dead sea and the mountains of Moab. Hence it may, with the strictest propriety, be called the desert of the sea (the Dead Sea) in distinction from the lesser and better known desert which lay south of Judea. Across this terrible waste does the prophet, in his trance, behold the vision coming. The common traveled course from Babylon to Judea was a circuitous one,

necessarily made to avoid this desert. It was to the North, by the way of the Euphrates, and Syria, and Riblah, and "the entering in of Hamath." This was the track of the Assyrian and Babylonian armies, and this is the path the vision follows, Isaiah x, 27-33, entitled "the Burthen of Assyria." See how it is there given, in the same rapt, dreamy, trance-like style that is so characteristic of this burthen of the desert of the sea. There is the same soliloquizing, exclamatory language, as the invading host is seen marching on from station to station. "He is come to Aiath; he is passed on to Migron; at Michmash he hath laid up his carriages; they have passed the ford; they stop the night\* at Geba; Ramah is trembling; Gibeah of Saul has fled; ring out thy voice O daughter of Gallim; hark to Laish, O poor Anathoth; Madmenah is gone; the people of Gebim gather themselves to flee; as yet to-day he remains at Nob; he is shaking his hand against the mount of the daughter of Zion, the hill of Jerusalem."

There is no mistaking this style. The sights are really seen; the sounds are really heard; subjective they may be, but not imagined, not a mere poetical painting. The exclamations mingled with them are real utterances of real emotion in view of things passing before the inward sense. "Hark † to Laish, O poor Anathoth!" It is all fact; it is all as distinctly seen as the "hills of Jerusalem, against which the rapidly nearing host seem already shaking the hand."

In this foreshadowing of Belshazzar's feast there is a similar clairvoyance or *clear-seeing*, a similar telegraphic vision of the distant in space widening its perspective angle, and the far off in time coming up the intervening centuries. It is more sudden, more startling, and presents itself to the prophet's soul from a different direction. There it was from the North, in the usual track of the Assyrian armies. Here, under the stronger afflatus, it may be supposed, or the more vivid impression, it comes right across the wide untraveled waste, as though it

\* There can be no doubt that לַיְלָה here is a verb from לָקַח, and not the pronoun, as the Vulgate renders it: *Gaba sedes nostra*.

† חֲקִישֵׁי לַיִשָּׁה. The ה in לַיִשָּׁה, Isaiah x, 30, is the particle of direction, having, in this case, a remarkable graphic power: "Hark toward Laish." Our translation is wholly wrong in making the Hiphil here causative instead of intensive. Vitringa has it better: *Attende Laisam versus, O misera Anathoth!* Lowth wholly loses the imagery.

could not wait for the circumambient route; and so the prophet cries out in his ecstasy, Massa midh-bar yām, "the burthen of the desert of the sea! like whirlwinds in the South, with a burst,\* it comes—from the wilderness, from the fearful land." Compare Deut. i, 19, מַדְבַּר הַגְּדֹלָה הַחַדְרָה, "that great and fearful wilderness." Here was one still more terrible, untraversed then, as it is untraversed† now, but known to lie in the direct line between Jerusalem and Babylon.

These considerations add greatly to the impressive mystery of the vision. It is in most graphic keeping with the perturbation and alarm with which the mind of the seer is suddenly affected, as the successive sights come sweeping across the desert toward which his prophetic gaze is directed. "A grievous vision, it is revealed to me," הִנֵּה לִי "placed right before my eyes." "The plunderer is plundering, the spoiler is spoiling, raptor raptat, vastator vastat—go up, O Elam, press the siege, O Media. For this my loins are full of anguish; pangs seize me like the pangs of a woman in travail; I revolt‡ from the hearing, I am dismayed at the seeing; my soul wanders, terrors affright me, my night of joy,§ it is turning for me into horror." The peculiar mental state of the prophet needs here to be carefully attended to. There are presented to him two opposite sights—the gathering war without, the security and feasting within. Each of them has, for the time, what may be styled a visual interest, called out simply by the emotion of the scene. He cannot help for a moment taking sides with the banqueters, so unconscious of the danger he sees coming upon them. Though they are deadly foes to his native land, yet in the immediate vision of their fatal security his quick identifying sympathy makes their joy and feast his own. Hence, at

\* לַחֲלוּקָה. Here is again one of those abrupt infinitives which can only be truly given by something that will express the simple idea or action of the verb in its most startling form, separate from time and logical relation. It is best rendered adverbially—at a burst, at a sweep. The primary idea of חֲלוּקָה throughout the Shemitic languages is that of *transition*, or one thing coming suddenly in the place of another. Here it is the sudden burst again, after a lull or silence in the tempest.

† We have never read of its being traversed by any European explorer, or any Oriental caravan.

‡ נַעֲרִיתִי מִשְׁמַעִי, I am suddenly turned one side—*distorqueor ut non audiam*.

§ Literally, it is "the evening of my joy," or my desire, נִשְׁתַּחֲשֵׁק חֶשֶׁק. It is the interest of contemplation rather than love that is here expressed by חֶשֶׁק—*nox desiderii mei, nox deliciarum mearum*.

the thought how soon it is to be interrupted, he cries out, "*My* night of joy is turning into horror." Alas, this scene that so stirs my soul with its light and beauty, so soon to be turned into waste and darkness! He cannot refrain from crying out, as though his voice could reach the revelers, and so he mingles his own ejaculations with the vivid pictures he is reading off. He expostulates with them, and in doing this is ever alternating between the emotion of the inner and the outer spectacle: "To set the table! (better) to set the watch; to eat! to drink! (Ah, no—to arms!) arise ye princes and anoint the shield." Some of the commentators are much occupied with the question to whom these last words are to be ascribed, whether to the Babylonians, aroused to their defense within, or to the hosts without. We think the view we have taken must commend itself to the reader who contemplates the whole style of the vision. It is the prophet's voice mingling with the scene of war and reveling. It is the voice of nature discarding all enmities at the sight of imminent danger threatening the secure. So the phrase "anoint the shield" has been variously interpreted, but it evidently means a process of preparation, either by way of polishing, or to make the shield more effective in glancing off the weapons of the enemy. (Compare 2 Sam. i. 21.)

This view of the passage is also in fine poetical harmony with the vision of the watchman that immediately follows: "For thus said the Lord unto me, Go set a watch—let him tell what he seeth. And he saw a riding, a brace of mounted men, one riding on an ass, and the other upon a camel; for he had listened—listened—long had he listened. And then he cried with a lion cry, Upon my watchtower, my Lord, I stand continually by day, and on the watch am I stationed all the nights, and lo! here it comes at last, a mounted man, a brace of mounted men, and one of them answers and says, fallen, fallen is Babylon, and the graven images of her gods hath one broken to the earth." There is the double subjective here—the prophet's vivid trance, and, as seen through it, the clairvoyant state of the watchman on the tower. In such a representation there is just that apparent mingling and introversion of thought that we should expect. The listening is told by the prophet out of its place, which comes in in reality, and, as it would appear in the language of the watchman, after what he says of



standing day and night upon the watchtower, and just before the *הנה בא*, "Lo! here it comes." The remarkable intensity of the Hebrew *הקשיב קשב רב קשב*, *hikshib kesheb rab kesheb*, (literally, "he listened a listening, how great a listening!") can only be smoothly given by similar, though not identical, repetitions in English. The eye is gazing far off into the depths of the desert, the ear is intently watching for every sound; then comes the vision of the courier, the announcement of the fall, the lion cry of the watchman, and immediately the prophet makes his report: "O my threshing, and the son of my threshing-floor," O people of my care, "what I have learned from Jehovah of Hosts, that have I revealed to you."

We are tempted to dwell still longer on this remarkable chapter. "The Burthen of the Desert of the Sea," is immediately followed by "The Burthen of Dumah." The position of this place,\* too, far off on the last inhabited frontiers of this same desert region, in a direct line almost between Jerusalem and Babylon, confirms the view that we have taken. This is especially so, if we may suppose the two prophecies to be connected, either as parts of one prophetic ecstasis, as Vitranga supposes, and therefore placed in such immediate contiguity, or as actually referring to the same object.

There is no evidence that Dumah itself is the object of the prophecy. It has too little historical importance to warrant any such supposition, especially as nothing further is said about it, and no doom pronounced against it. Hence some have supposed that, for some reason, there is a change of name, and that Edom or Idumea is intended; but this is wholly gratuitous. Dumah and Edom (called by later geographers Idumea) may have some resemblance in sound, but every Hebrew scholar knows that they are radically different, with radically different significances in their roots. One is from *אדם*, an appellation of Esau, meaning *red*, (see Gen. xxv, 25;) the other from *דום*, meaning "to be silent," and so called, perhaps, from its position in the far off solitary waste. The opinion that Edom was intended may seem to have a feeble support in the mention of Seir; but this is only the place of the voice directed

\* It is doubtless the same Dumah that is mentioned in Gen. xxv, 14, and 1 Chron. i, 30, and which is called by the Arabians Dumeth-el-Jendel, or "the Stony Dumah." It was east of the Dead Sea, and on the line between the Syrian Arabia and Arabia proper.



toward Dumah, the remoter station; and it therefore remains that this latter has either no significance in the prophecy at all, or, like *דבר ים*, "the desert of the sea," it gives name to the vision, not as the object, but as the direction whence it comes. Thus viewed, there is no difficulty in regarding this "Burthen of Dumah," too, as referring to Babylon, and as, in fact, a solemn appendix to the former scene of tumultuous joy and closing horror. It is the fearful afterpart, in which an impressive silence seems to form the chief feature of the representation; so that although Dumah unquestionably denotes a locality in the vision, there is some reason for the idea of Vitranga that it has a scenic significance as connected with the radical sense\* of *דומה*—noctis silentium gaudio laetitiae, et luci oppositum—quum cessaverint strepitus liei—allusio allegorica ad argumentum prophetiae de nocte agentis gravissimæ calamitatis. Let us attend carefully to the whole coloring of the language, and the picture rises before the mind, shadowy indeed, yet perfectly distinguishable in its somber outlines. The fall of Babylon has alarmed the nations. Inquiry is anxiously made respecting the doomed and desolate city. A voice in the darkness calleth out of Seir: "Watchman! what of the night? Watchman! what of the night?" The answer is returned from Dumah, it is sent back from the far off silence of the desert: "The morning cometh; cometh also the night." The first part of this mysterious response has been usually interpreted of triumph to the divine people, and the latter as denoting darkness to its foes; but both together may rather be taken as one indefinite expression of duration—"the evening and the morning," that, in Scripture language, make up the mystic day.† They come and go, these rounding times. Thus night shall follow morn, and morning night. Age after age, nature and history move on their steady course; the nations rise and fall, but there is no morn to Babylon; "the wild beasts of the desert shall lie there, the bird of darkness shall cry in her deso-

\* For the impressive significance of *דומה*, see Psalm xciv, 17, where it is used for Orcus or Hades: "Had not the Lord been my help, I had well nigh dwelt in Dumah," the land of silence whence no answer comes, no traveler returns; also Psalm cxv, 17, *יורד דומה*, "They that go down to Dumah"—like *יורד שאול*, Psalm lv, 16, "They that go down to Sheol."

† See Dan. viii, 26, *ברא הערב והבקר*, "the vision of the evening and the morning," and compare with Dan. viii, 14.

late houses." "If ye will inquire, inquire\* ye—return—come." According to the Hebrew idiom, שבו has here an adverbial sense qualifying the other verb—שובו אחרי, "come *again*." It carries, moreover, the idea of reiteration. Not once but often ask concerning her fate; "come again and again;" the answer will be still the same. The night still rests on Babylon. She may have her representative until the end of time in many a wicked power and wicked Church; but for her, prophecy gives no more response; for her, the oracle is closed forever.

This is interpreting by the imagination, it may be said; but without the imagination (it may be retorted) exercised as legitimately and as correctly as we can, it is impossible to interpret Isaiah; and a man who has no imagination—like some modern exegetes, rationalistic and evangelical—should never attempt it. Surely he who has no faith in the reality of the prophetic pre-vision is utterly disqualified. Without such faith, and without some degree of sympathy for this pictorial style, all his talk of grammatical canons, and governing words, and infinitives used for the imperative, is frigidissimum. The language of the prophet is, beyond all question, rapt, ecstastic, broken, soliloquizing. Now where this really is the prophetic style, the criticism that ignores it lacks the first ground of a true exegesis. We can only connect such broken utterances by having the imagination intensely interested in the pictures presented, and some degree of a "like precious faith" in their divine reality. Then may we have some measure of modest trust in the filling up of the prophetic imagery, at least so far as its outward truthfulness is concerned. There are, doubtless, dangers in such a method; but, on the other hand, nothing is more certain to lead to error than the attempt to reduce such a writer to logical bands. The more stringent such a course, the wider the probable departure from the real significance, especially in such glowing passages as these.

In the ghostly vision of Eliphaz, Job iv, 12-18, we have one of the most striking examples of what we have called the *moving picture*, made by the use of the subjective future

\* **אם תבערו בעיר**. This is a word occurring seldom in the ordinary Hebrew, (see Obad. 6,) but quite common in this sense, in the Chaldaic or Syriac. There is, therefore, an admirable fitness in putting it in the mouth of one who thus responds for Babylon; and it is a very weak argument that would deduce from it a later date to the prophecy.

presenting a futurity in fact, or an expectancy in feeling, to the standpoint assumed by the speaker. Connected with this remarkable passage are many important questions respecting the most ancient Shemitic notions of the spirit-world. Here, however, we would chiefly regard it as a most exquisite specimen of what may be called graphic, or pictorial writing. In all languages some such effect is produced by the use of the present for the past, thus transferring it from the narrative to the descriptive style, presenting a *movement* instead of a dead fact,—a living, stirring image, instead of a motionless, impassive history. For this, however, there is, in Hebrew, a peculiar aid arising from what may be called the subjective nature of its tenses regarded as having their scale and flow of time, not from an absolute or *fixed* present, but from the imaginative standpoint of the speaker, taken as a moving present determined by its relations to events that precede or follow. Especially is this the case with what is called the *future*, and, by some, the *imperfect* or unfinished. It is the flowing tense. It may sometimes be described as the anticipatory tense, wholly subjective, denoting an event, or series of events, conceived, not only as future simply, but as coming *toward* us, out of the future. The speaker, carried back into the midst of the scene, falls under the power of its scenic emotion, and describes as still approaching what is actually past. Thus thrown into a past present, his times take their relations from it. They are affected by the emotion. The feeling of awe revived immediately demands the prospective, expectant, apprehensive language that belongs to it. We have all heard men tell a story, in this way, when under the power of strong emotion. In such circumstances, instead of saying, "I saw," the animated narrator or describer says, "I see\*—I see it *coming*; now it *is* here; now it *is* there; now it *begins* to move," and so on, instead of using the past, it was, it began, etc. When the real past occurs in such a series, it is always by way of explanation, or comment on the passing events. Its force is felt in stopping the flow of imagination, or shifting the scenery, so as to introduce some omitted or coterminous fact.

\*It is a very common vulgarism to "use see for saw—"I see it," meaning "I saw it." It has its reason, probably, in the stronger emotion of the sight-recollection, as compared with that of any other sense.

In the lifelike description of the vision of Eliphaz, the speaker is carried, not only in *medias res*, into the actual scene, but *back* of it, to a point just before it, where the awe of the spiritual and the supernatural would seem to be casting upon the soul the shadow of the coming events. It is the feeling of expectancy, of something coming, that thus colors the language, and brings the future form, as significant of this subjective state, into the very introduction, and that, too, without any direct "wau converseive," or any device of construction which the grammarians\* might allege as a justification of the anomaly. It is "the future used for the past;" this is the wise explanation that some would give, as though nothing more were needed than this soulless canon. The translators, adopting some such rule, or regarding the form of the tense, in such cases, as something purely arbitrary, have actually rendered them in the past throughout, and thus destroyed all the pictorial effect. Had they rendered them as absolute futures, by our future forms *will* and *shall*, it would have been still worse, because, in that case, the English reader could not have helped referring them to the fixed present of the actual narrator. How, then, shall we do? In turning them into English we cannot well avoid something of paraphrase, but still the conciseness as well as the spirit of the passage may be, in some degree, preserved, by employing those terms that we resort to when we would express what may be called a past future, or an inceptive or relative future, in our own language, such as, "a-going to"—"a-going to be;" a common and plain style of language, indeed, but very vivid and very graphic when employed on occasions demanding it. It is like the inceptive future expressed in Greek and Latin, by such words as μέλλω, *fore*, *futurus sum*. Aside from these, certain particles, denoting, of themselves, expectancy, may answer the same purpose, or the translating verb itself may have in it, if happily chosen, so much of the idea of futurity, or of out-looking in the thought, as to answer the demands of this Hebrew future, irrespective of any particular tense forms, and without the aid of any paraphrastic particles.

\*The most philosophical explanation of the Hebrew tenses may be found in vol. ii of Nordheimer's Hebrew Grammar. He comes the nearest to a principle that explains all their uses.

Let us try, then, and find the best mode of giving the spirit of this passage in English, avoiding, as much as possible, the strangeness of an impracticable brevity, as well as the weakness and tameness that come from the redundancy of paraphrase.

וְאֵלֶּי דָּבַר יָגִיב. "A thing is stealing upon me," or, "comes stealing upon me." It is the language of awe and expectancy; the very language that suited the emotion at the time of the vision, and in which the soliloquizing spectator would have described it to himself. The transition to the subjective state immediately demands the future (the Hebrew future, we mean, with its peculiar idea of time) to correspond to it. "Something is coming; mine ear is about to catch a whisper thereof"—another future. It might be said that this second verb וְאֵלֶּי is the common case of the future made past by the wau conversive, and that יָגִיב is an implied case of it as affected by the ו in וְאֵלֶּי. But even the wau conversive form, as used in dry historical narration, never wholly loses its future idea. Of itself, it denotes *succession*, the succeeding event future to the one with which the conjunction connects it, or to the starting event, from which the whole narration depends. They all take character from that first, and if that is not an absolute historical, but a moving point, then those which follow, until the succession is interrupted, are also moving.

"A thing comes stealing o'er me; mine ear is about to catch a whisper thereof." At this point the speaker seems to feel the need of some words to explain the emotion with which he so abruptly starts, and he comes back to the ordinary past times of narration. "It *was* amid anxious thoughts that *had* come from visions of the night, when deep sleep *had* fallen upon men." The time, therefore, is the simple past, followed by another which is the pluperfect or completed past to it. "Fear *had* come upon me, (קָרַעַי,) and trembling, which *made* all my bones to shake." And now begins the descriptive again, after this brief interruption of the narrative style, and the form of the Hebrew tense, true to the inward state of awe and foreboding which it represents, turns immediately to this future of expectancy: "For a spirit is going to pass," (יֵרָחֵף.) He feels the premonition in his very flesh. "The hair *begins* to rise," (תִּסְמַר,) or, as it would be expressed by the Latin inceptive

verb, *inhorrescit*. "It is about to stand," (יַעֲמֵד) to assume form and position. I look,\* "but I cannot discern the visage thereof. There is a dim outline before mine eyes. Silence! hark; it is a voice I hear. Shall a mortal be more just than God? Shall a man be more pure than his Maker?" This solemn announcement at the close is that to which the whole picture is preparatory. It has all the more impressiveness from being preceded by this graphic language of awe and apprehension, and these Hebrew future forms are the well adapted means by which the emotional effect is produced. Even if some of them may be explained by the common grammatical rules, others must appear wholly arbitrary, unless interpreted as denoting the state of soul rather than the actual relation of the outward fact. On no other ground can we give a reason why קרא and הִשְׁתַּדֵּד, v, 14, should be preterites, while תִּסְמַר and יַעֲמֵד, in the 15th, have the future form.†

Some few words demand a more particular attention than could be bestowed upon them without interrupting the general view.

מַחֲזוֹנוֹת would strictly mean "after the visions of the night, when deep sleep had fallen." It is to be inferred from this that it was in a waking state that had succeeded a disturbing dream. He is possessed with the feeling of a near spiritual presence. Whether the first emotion, as expressed verse 12,

\* *I look*. These words simply express that outlooking, intently gazing state of soul which is implied in the words וְלֹא אֲבִיר. There is a similar implication in the words וְקוֹל אֲשָׁמַע just below: "Hark—a voice; let me hear it." The intent listening is implied in דְּמַמָּה, and hence it is followed by this subjective future. It might be said that אֲבִיר is converted by the וְ in וְלֹא, but then it would be out of connection with the future יַעֲמֵד, which is perfectly separate, and marks an independent time by itself.

† No writers show more critical acumen than some of the Rabbinical commentators, and yet none would think of charging them with excess of poetical imagination. It is, therefore, with much confidence we refer to Jarchi, in his comment on Job iii, 3, יֵאָבֵד יוֹם אֲוֵלָךְ בּוֹ, which may be compared with Jer. xx, 14, apparently the same thought, and similarly expressed, except that it has the verb in the preterite form, יֵלֶדְתִּי בּוֹ, "Cursed be the day in which I was born." This is less forcible than the other, which has the future, and which Jarchi renders, "May the day perish in which I was about to be born, and when I was not yet born." The passage in Job is the most vivid and poetical. It requires a stronger act of the mind thus to place one's self before the event, and see it coming on. The contemplation of it as a fact in the past is less imaginative, and, therefore, less emotional.



was from a sight or a sound, or some indescribable sensation, it would not be easy to say. The ear, at all events, is listening, and now comes a deep impression of something like visible form. "A spirit is about to pass." It is an *expectation* that is shaping itself, and so we have not only a future, (יִהְיֶה,) but a very peculiar word, on which we have already briefly commented. Its primary idea is sudden transition, clear yet inexplicable, like the plant coming up out of the earth we know not how, Psa. xc, 6; or springing again from the withered trunk, Job xiv, 7; or the opposite process of passing away, Isaiah ii, 18; or the sudden change of the wind, Isaiah xxi, 1; or the quick change of thought, (אִזְוֵה חֶלֶק רָחֵם,) Hab. i, 11; or the great scene shifting, when, as expressed by this same word, the worlds shall be renewed in the passing away of the old heavens and earth, Psa. cii, 27. This is the word used here, so admirably adapted to express the transition that is about to take place in the ghostly vision:

A change comes o'er the spirit of my dream.

"A form is about to pass before me," I have a presentiment, a foreboding sensation; "the hair of my flesh begins to rise."

Verse 16, מַרְאֵה denotes something more distinct and visible than חֲמוּמָה. The former is that which has feature and recognized expression, *aspectus*. The latter is mere appearance, (*species*), outline, image, what Homer calls (Odyssey, iv, 835) εἰδωλὸν ἀμυρόν, and though used for likeness\* is etymologically less clear and distinct than מַרְאֵה, which is here placed in contrast with it. See the distinction between these words very clearly traced in Maimonides, More Nevochim, sec. 3. The difference must be borne in mind to prevent a contradiction in the two clauses. And so we have rendered it in a way that comes nearest to the state of mind evidently set forth: "I could not distinguish the aspect, (the face and features,) and yet there is an outline, a dim shadowy appearance before mine eyes."

דַּמְמָה. The first thought would be that this word, according to its plain etymological aspect, means *silence*, whether used as a noun or as an interjection. There is, however, some

\* Thus Psa. xvii, 5, "I shall be satisfied" בַּחֲרִץ חֲמוּמָתְךָ "when thy likeness awakes." The fainter term is used to heighten the intensity of the contrast: "I shall be satisfied when there awakes in my soul the first lineaments of the divine image, the first faint dawning of the resurrection likeness." So in Exod. xx, 4, where it means the faintest resemblance of anything in heaven or earth.



reason for regarding it as denoting a very low and scarcely perceptible sound, so called as the nearest audible thing to silence. Or it may mean an audible silence, a silence which makes itself felt, or of which we seem to have some sensation. There is some authority for this in the manner in which it is used, 1 Kings xix, 12, "After the fire and the earthquake," קוֹל דְּמָמָה דָּקָה, "a still small voice," literally, "a voice of silence attenuated." The LXX have rendered it there, *φωνὴ αὐρᾶς λεπτῆς*, and the Vulgate "sibulus auræ tenuis," "the soft whistling sound of the gentle breeze." So here, *et vocem quasi auræ lenis audiui*. In Psalm cvii, 29, it is the gentle whisper that remains in the lull of the storm, סָרָה לְדָמָה, *when the tempest is falling*; or, as the Vulgate expresses it, *Statuit procellam ejus in auram, et siluerunt fluctus ejus*. The Syriac translator has rendered it by the word נִזְמָרָה, which means a musical instrument, like some low sweet-sounding flute, as though some soul-subduing strain of music was the prelude to the spirit's message. In this sense of a musical strain, it would be in admirable harmony with the spirit of the passage, 1 Kings xix, 12, "After the earthquake and the fire, a voice of modulation, low and sweet;" and so the Syriac has actually rendered it there, although not using the same word as in Job iv, 16.

After all the pains that have been taken, there are everywhere in the Hebrew Scriptures examples of the future form that cannot be solved by the usual grammatical rules.\* We

\* Even Nordheimer, the most philosophical of Hebrew grammarians, regards the Hebrew tenses as being occasionally employed in an arbitrary manner. "Sometimes" he tells us, (vol. ii, page 181,) "the absolute and relative futures are employed alternately in the same connection," and he gives, as an example, 2 Sam. xvii, 1, 2, 3, which is thus rendered into English: "I *will* choose now twelve thousand men, and *will* arise, and *will* pursue David, and *will* come upon him, and *will* make him afraid; and the people *shall* flee, and I *will* smite the king, and *will* bring back all the people unto thee." The English reader would have no idea that part of the verbs in the above have the preterite and part the future form. They all seem, too, to be "in the same connection," as far as one should carelessly judge from such translation. That is, they would seem to be a series of events all future, and not only that, but all "conceived as following" directly one after the other. A closer study, however, even of the English, would divide them into three classes, with an equal variety in their connections. The first four, the choosing, the arising, the pursuing, and the coming upon, are the purposes and intentions in the mind of the counseling Abithophel, and therefore future. This would be intimated, too, by the paragogic ׀, which makes them not only future

get along very well with the wau conversive of the future, and the seeming wau conversive of the preterite, as long as we confine our attention to the historical parts, though even in plain narrative the form thus employed denotes *succession* rather than *preterition* strictly, the absolute time being denoted by its relation to the starting point of the narrative. But in the poetry, and especially in the prophecy, we are all afloat, unless we adopt the principle, simple in itself, though not always easy to be applied, that the forms of the tense must be supposed to vary according as the inward emotion changes from the contemplation of a thing as done, to a state of hope or fear, that is, a state of expectancy, in relation to it.

An example or two will make this clear. Thus, Psalm cvii, 4, 5, is rendered, "They *wandered* in the wilderness, they *found* no city to dwell in; hungry and thirsty, their soul *fainted* within them." Here the verbs are all alike rendered in the past, but in the Hebrew the first and second are preterites, while the third has the future form. Why is this? There is no wau conversive here, nor any effect of particles analogous to it. But there it stands, *וַיִּזְכֹּר* and *וַיִּצְטַק* in the first and second members, and *וַיִּהְיֶה* in the third. It cannot be arbitrary. There must be a reason for the change, and this is, we think, because the third denotes, not so much an outward fact, as a state of soul which must somehow be described. "They *wandered*, they *found* no rest;" and then the form of the tense suddenly changes; "they are just ready to faint,"

but optative, expressing *desire* as well as purpose and counsel: *אֶבְחַר . . . אֶקְוֶה . . . אֶרְדֹּף*. "I *would* choose, I *would* arise, I *would* pursue," etc. On the other hand, the "making afraid, the putting to flight, the smiting," are the contemplated *accomplishment* of those purposes, the *facta*, or things done, and, therefore, relatively past. The last, the "bringing back the people," is the final *consequence* succeeding both purpose and accomplishment, and, therefore, absolutely future in itself, or relatively future in respect to the whole. Now this is exactly the way in which the Hebrew expresses it, (*וַיַּחְזִירֵם—וַיִּבְרָא—וַיִּשְׁמַד*), which may be thus turned into English by giving the conjunction its time, as well as its copulative force, and thus preserving the relations of the several parts: "I *would* choose now twelve thousand men, and I *would* arise and *would* pursue David, and *would* come upon him, and *when* I *had* made him afraid, and the people *had* fled, and I *had* smitten the king alone, then *would* I bring back all the people to thee." The *וַיַּחְזִירֵם* becomes the new pivot or hinge on which the time turns, and from which it is reckoned. This pivot we express, along with its conjunctive power, when we render it *when*. A similar examination would give a like result in other cases, and show that there is nothing arbitrary in language any more than in nature.

"they are on the point of fainting." The whole of this most graphic Psalm abounds in this. Let the reader cast his eye to the 26th verse, where we have futures all through. It is all vivid, out-looking emotion. Everything is described as it appears to the actors themselves who are *about* to realize it: "They are mounting up to the heavens; anon, they are *about* to descend into the deeps; their soul, in their distress, is just *ready* to melt." It is the language of one who is there in spirit, who sees the ship, now rising on the topmost surge, now sinking in the billows. He describes it with all the feeling of foreboding fear and expectant hope that would be natural in such a scene. Throughout the Psalm the preterite tenses, mingled with this animated painting, are but transition points; the life and emotion are in the futures.

Again, two events may be in the future, the far future, and yet one of them past as respects the other. This is expressed by the common case of the wau conversive of the preterite, which is said to make it future by connecting it with a future preceding. There is, however, in it something more than this. The converted past is not thus rendered a future *succeeding* a future, according to the mere order of the words, but rather preceding it, or, at least, simultaneous with it. Take, for example, Isaiah xxxv, 10, which is rendered: "They *shall* obtain joy and gladness, and sorrow and sighing *shall* flee away." The Hebrew has the second verb a preterite with wau, making it past to the first, though future in relation to the absolute prophetic stand-point. שִׂשְׁוֹן וְשִׂמְחָה יִשְׂרְגוּ וְכֹס וְיָגוֹן וְאִנּוּחַ : which may be literally rendered, "Joy and gladness they *will* overtake, sorrow and sighing *have* fled away;" or if we give the conjunction its true time-force, as well as copulative effect, "*when* sorrow and sighing *shall have* fled away." In our common translation, as in that of Lowth, no distinction is made, but there is, in fact, a striking and beautiful contrast. The prophetic vision takes its stand between the two events. One it sees as *coming on*, the other as already past and *receding*. "Joy and gladness *shall* they overtake, sorrow and sighing *have* fled away." How full of life and motion is this literal Hebrew. It is as though joy and gladness had been just before them during all their mourning pilgrimage; they have overtaken them at last; and

now sorrow and sighing have taken their final departure. They are

"With the years beyond the flood."

They are with the past forever.

This Hebraistic mode of expressing times is sometimes carried into the New Testament, especially that book of Revelations which comes the nearest in its style to the old prophetic Scriptures. We have an example of it, Rev. xxi, 4, which is closely allied to this thought in Isaiah xxxv, 10: "And there shall be no more sorrow, nor crying," *πόνος οὐκ ἔσται ἔτι, ὅτι τα πρῶτα ἀπηλθον*, "there *shall* be no more pain, for the old things *have* passed away."

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#### ART. V.—CONDITION AND CHARACTER OF NEGROES IN AFRICA.

THE erroneous impressions which prevail in the civilized world respecting the condition of the Negro race in Africa are discreditable to the intelligence of the age. The people of the United States are doubly blamable for their false views on this subject, because we owe debts to that portion of our fellow-men for ages of wrongs inflicted on them for our benefit, and because, with ample means within our reach for correcting our erroneous opinions, we generally neglect them, and still persist in denying to negroes those intellectual faculties and moral qualities which the Creator has bestowed on the entire human family. With the books of recent travelers in Africa in their hands, it may well be wondered at that even our most intelligent and humane writers have not yet appealed to the testimony of Bowen, Livingstone, and Barth, to prove that millions of pagan negroes, in different parts of that continent, have been for ages in the practice of some of the most important arts of life, dwelling in comfort and generally at peace; while many other millions have been raised to a considerable degree of civilization by Mohammedism, and long existed in powerful independent states; under various changes, it is true, but

perhaps not so many or great as those through which the principal nations of "civilized Europe" passed during the same periods.

To refer to but one portion of the vast regions of Africa inhabited by the Black Race, namely, that extending along the southern border of the Great Desert, we find there, between the tenth and twentieth degrees of north latitude, five or six kingdoms, most of which have been in existence several centuries, and some a thousand years, mostly under the influence of Mohammedan institutions. These are everywhere similar, so far as they prevail, establishing fixed laws, customs, arts, and learning; and, although abounding in errors and evils on the one side, embracing benefits on the other which are not enjoyed by such portions of the negro race as remain in paganism. The Koran, as is well known, has copied from the Hebrew Scriptures many of the attributes of God and the doctrines of morality, with certain just views of the nature, capacities, duties, and destiny of man; and these are so faithfully taught, that they are conspicuous in the writings of many of the numerous authors in Mohammedan countries, and often displayed, in a more or less satisfactory degree, in the characters and lives of those educated in them.

Want of space in these pages must necessarily limit our remarks to very narrow bounds, and we shall therefore be unable to present many details which would interest the reader, and can give only a few facts relating to Mohammedan learning, its nature, institutions, and results. This forms an essential part of the Moslem system, and has long been in operation on large families of the negro race, and moulded them after the civilized model of the Arabs and Moors. Unlike Popery, it favors, nay, requires, as a fundamental principle, the free and universal reading and study of their sacred book; and, instead of withholding it from the people under penalties of death and perdition, it establishes schools for all classes, primarily to teach its languages and doctrines. Extracts from the Koran form the earliest reading lessons of children, and the commentaries and other works founded upon it furnish the principal subjects of the advanced studies.

As this has always been the practice, it may not seem strange that learning flourished among the Moors, in Spain, during the

Dark Ages of Europe, while Popery so long overshadowed the nations with her worse than Egyptian darkness. Readers who have neglected Africa may not be prepared to believe that schools of different grades have existed for centuries in various interior negro countries, and under the provisions of law, in which even the poor are educated at the public expense, and in which the deserving are carried on many years through long courses of regular instruction. Nor is this system always confined to the Arabic language, or to the works of Arabian writers. A number of native languages have been reduced to writing, books have been translated from the Arabic, and original works have been written in them. Schools also have been kept in which native languages are taught. Indeed, one of the most gratifying evidences has thus been furnished of the favorable influences exerted by the unrestricted use, as well as the general diffusion of the knowledge of letters; while the truth is not less certain, because hitherto unknown, that large portions of the African Continent lie open to the access of Christian influences through channels thus prepared by education.

These and other facts, which we shall not stop to mention, make it appear wonderful indeed that the African race should be judged by us only from that small and unfortunate portion of it found in the western continent. Where is the excuse for looking only at ten millions, more or less, of slaves and descendants of slaves in America, and entirely neglecting to inquire into the condition and character, the history and capacities of the hundred or more millions of negroes in their native country, who have had some opportunity to show what they are capable of? It is now time for public attention in the United States to be directed to Africa, and an attentive perusal of the most recent travels will afford the reader the details of many things which we can only cursorily mention in this article, while earlier publications will be found to afford confirmation of some of the most important facts. It certainly will bring more compunction to the hearts of the humane among us, to learn that the race which we have been accustomed to despise, as well as to ill treat, still lie under a load of evils perpetuated by the prejudices prevailing even among many of the most enlightened Christians; and it will be surprising to be told, that among the victims of the slave-trade among us have been



men of learning and pure and exalted characters, who have been treated like beasts of the field by those who claimed a purer religion.

About a hundred years ago a report reached England that a young African slave in Maryland, named Job-ben-Solomon, was able to write Arabic, and appeared to be well-educated and well-bred. Measures were taken to secure his release, and he was sent to England, where he assisted Sir Hans Sloane in translating Arabic, and acquired a character of the highest kind for intelligence, judgment, morality, and kindness of heart. He was sent up the Gambia River to Bundu, where he was received with the warmest welcome, and the truth of his story was fully proved, he being the son of the hereditary prince of that part of the country. Several other Africans have been known at different periods, in different parts of America, somewhat resembling Job-ben-Solomon in acquirements; but, unfortunately, no full account of any of them has ever been published. The writer has made many efforts to remedy this defect, and has obtained some information from a few individuals. But there are insuperable difficulties in the way in slave countries, arising from the jealousies of masters, and other causes, which quite discouraged a gentleman who made exertions in the South some years since, and compelled him to abandon the undertaking in despair, although he had resided in Africa, and had both the taste and the ability necessary to success. The writer has found a few native Africans in the North, of whom only three were able to write, and only one had opportunity to give him long personal interviews. "Prince," or "Abder-rahman," he saw once in New York, about the year 1830; from "Morro," or "Omar-ben-Sayeed," long living in Fayetteville, N. C., he procured a sketch of his life in Arabic; and from "Old Paul," or "Lahmen Kibby," he obtained a great amount of most interesting information. That venerable old man was liberated in 1835, after being about forty years a slave in South Carolina, Alabama, and other southern states, and spent about a year in New York, under the care of the Colonization Society, while waiting for a vessel to take him back to his native country. The writer held numerous and prolonged interviews with him, and found him deeply interested in making his communications concerning his native



country and people, as well as his own history, for the purpose of having them published, for the information of Americans. He often said, "There are good men in America, but all are very ignorant of Africa. Write down what I tell you exactly as I say it, and be careful to distinguish between what I have seen and what I have only heard other people speak of. They may have made some mistakes; but if you put down exactly what I say, by and by, when good men go to Africa, they will say, *Paul told the truth.*"

The writer has since arranged and written out the voluminous notes which he took from the lips of the old man, (some of them in stenography,) and has added many extracts from travelers and others, all confirmatory of his statements, but has never found an opportunity to publish them. It appears that his aged informant was in possession of many facts still unknown even to the most learned of America and Europe, which the most bold and enterprising travelers have failed to discover, though risking life, and even losing it, in the attempt. Three or four pages on the subject, published in 1836 in the proceedings of the American Lyceum, attracted attention in Europe, and the Paris Geographical Society to make repeated applications for more information; and Dr. Latham quoted them as one of the only three authorities on the Sereculy language, in his learned paper presented to the British Scientific Association. Dr. Coëlle, missionary of the Church Missionary Society, has since given a brief vocabulary of that language, (Paul's native tongue,) but without any particular information of the people. They are one of the negro families before alluded to, which are intermingled, without being amalgamated, over extensive regions in Nigritia, partly Mohammedan and partly Pagan.

His native country is Footah, peopled by several races, all governed by the Foolahs. This is the most western of the seven or eight separate and independent states or kingdoms lying in a remarkably regular series, and in a straight line along the southern boundary of the Great Desert, or Zahara, from Senegambia to Nubia and Abyssinia. These have been recently visited by that learned and energetic traveler, Dr. Barth, whose three octavo volumes contain a vast amount of information concerning those fertile and populous regions, their history and condition, so materially affected by the influence

of Mohammedism, which has prevailed in some of them for a thousand years. Why is it that ignorance of those countries still prevails among us? Why is the kingdom of Footah still so unknown, though only about three hundred miles distant from the Atlantic coast, and since the English and French have had trading posts on the Gambia and the Senegal for two hundred years? Because, as the Rev. Mr. Poole mentions in a late work, foreigners are still afraid to leave the rivers' side, having a dread of the wild beasts and savage men who are supposed to threaten death to every intruder who may venture to pass through the forests and swamps, which were long ravaged by slave-hunters, who sent their human victims to America. The Gambia and Senegal rise in the high grounds in the southern parts of Footah, and flow through much of its territory northward, and then turn west, to make their way through the low and hot district just mentioned to the coast. Only their lower waters are navigable, and only Park, Caillée, the Landers, and a few other travelers, have even gone beyond the heads of navigation when in search of Timbuctoo or the Niger; and the Rev. William Fox, the English Wesleyan missionary, who endeavored to establish a mission in Bundu about eighteen years ago. None of all these ever saw anything of Footah except the extreme northern portion; and all were ignorant of the numerous languages and dialects of the various tribes through which they passed. Neither has any white man ever crossed the boundary of that first of the Mohammedan negro states, from Sierra Leone or Liberia, which lie below the Gambia. Mr. Seymour, a mulatto man of education and enterprise, originally from Hartford, went on foot from Monrovia, about four years ago, to near the southern confines of Footah, and found a varied, rich, and populous country, with numerous towns and villages, immense fields of rice, cotton, corn, vegetables, etc.; the people industrious and hospitable, manufacturing their clothes and iron, with regular fairs for the purchase and sale of numerous articles of domestic and foreign production. As one evidence of the erroneous impressions common in the world respecting the habits of Africans, it may be mentioned that in that region, as in Yoruba, (a country fifteen hundred or two thousand miles distant from it,) the women not only sweep their houses frequently, but carry the dust outside of the gates of the towns.

"Old Paul" was born in the southern part of Footah, and in his early childhood used to bring water in a calabash to his mother from the Cabah, one of the head streams of the Jalibah. He afterward lived in the cities of Kebbe, or Kibby, and Bundu, where he spent many years in studying under different masters. On several occasions he accompanied caravans and armies on mercantile and military expeditions into adjacent and more distant countries, and his accounts of these abound in details of great novelty and interest. The same may be said of his communications on the history, customs, arts, religions, learning, languages, books, schools, teachers, travelers, productions, trade, etc., of the mixed people among whom he lived. In respect to its varied population, his country resembles the unexplored regions before mentioned, lying between it and the sea-coast; but as Footah is a Mohammedan country, the religion of the false prophet affords a bond of union strong enough to hold the heterogeneous multitude under one government, and generally in the peaceful enjoyment of the laws, arts, and learning which belong to a Mohammedan community, being provided for by the Koran and claimed by its believers. When we bear in mind that the chief attributes of God and some of the principles of morality were copied into that book from the Hebrew Scriptures, we may realize something of the difference between Mohammedan and Pagan countries in Africa. One great advantage of the former consists in the use of letters. Arabic is taught in schools wherever the priests can find pupils; and such is their proselyting spirit, or rather (as we may truly say of many of them) their humane desire to diffuse the faith in which they conscientiously believe, that they are sometimes seen in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and other places far from their homes, teaching children to write the Arabic characters on the sand.

Paul was a schoolmaster in Footah, after pursuing a long course of preparatory studies, and said that he had an aunt who was much more learned than himself, and eminent for her superior acquirements and for her skill in teaching. Schools, he said, were generally established through the country, provision being made by law for educating children of all classes, the poor being taught gratuitously. All the details of the system he was ready to give in answer to inquiries, including the

methods, rules, books, etc. The books, of course, were all in manuscript; and what has seemed difficult of belief, even by well-informed persons in our country, several native African languages were written in Arabic characters. He gave a catalogue of about thirty books in his own mother tongue, (the Sere-culy or Serrawolly,) with some account of their nature and contents.

In consequence of these interesting communications, applications have been repeatedly made by the writer for specimens of negro writings; and a few months ago he received, from President Benson and ex-President Roberts, several manuscripts of considerable length, written with neatness, uniformity, and elegance, which excite admiration. The compositions are original, having been written at Monrovia, at the request of those distinguished gentlemen, by accomplished negro Mohammedan travelers on visits there from the interior. They have been translated by the Rev. Dr. Bird, of Hartford, and contain evidence of a sincere religious zeal in the writers, who address their solemn appeals to the unknown stranger who had requested a written communication from them, presuming, as it appears, that he was not a Moslem, and was, therefore, ignorant of his Maker, his obligations to him, and the importance of knowing and serving him. Some passages in those documents would be perfectly appropriate to a sermon, even in an American pulpit, except that the idea of a Saviour is not expressed; but there are other parts which display the extreme ignorance of the writers respecting countries distant from their own. One of the manuscripts gives a description of China, full of the greatest extravagance, showing a degree of childish misconception and credulity which might be thought a proof of negro mental imbecility had we not in our hands Sir John Maundevill's Travels. That book, which was most extensively read in various languages in Europe four centuries ago, contains descriptions and pictures of men with two heads, and various other monsters, reported to be the inhabitants of fabulous countries, or lands barely known by name.

The following interesting account we copy from the Rev. William Fox's *History of the Wesleyan Missions in Western Africa*, page 462. It relates incidents of his journey to Footah-Bundu, where he attempted to establish a mission.

That is the part of the country where "Old Paul" completed his education. On arriving at Jumé, he says it is a Serawolly (or Sereculy) town, "somewhat noted as being the residence of a Marraboo priest, named Kabba, who has scholars from different parts of the country. He was busy with his pupils, but immediately came to give us a hearty welcome, and soon after he sent me three fowls. Here our guide gave a history of our proceedings from Kanipe to this place. After he had done the priest commenced a prayer for us; the people, with their hands upon their foreheads, as on former occasions, saying, at the end of every sentence, 'Amín! amín!'"

On the next day, which was Sunday, Mr. Fox says "the priest was busy all the day, so that I had not an opportunity of speaking to him until the evening, when I presented him with a handsomely bound Arabic Testament, and held a lengthy conversation with him on the subject of experimental religion, in the presence of a large congregation."

The next day, continues the narrator, "we rose early, and went to the priest to procure a guide. . . . Soon after the interview I accompanied the Mohammedan scribe to see his brother, who was sick, at whose request I prayed. . . . This place is one of the strongholds of the Mohammedan creed. . . . A little before five P. M., the guide being ready, I immediately mounted, and we were in the act of starting; but the priest thought proper to give us his blessing, which he did by taking hold of my hands while on horseback, and saying something which I did not understand; but the people around us were all attention, and they stood with both their hands open, as if they expected something to fall from the clouds at the close of the ceremony; and, as before, they all said, *Amín! amín!* We now proceeded, upward of one hundred of the inhabitants, men, women, and children, following us, sometimes completely surrounding my horse, wishing me to shake hands with them. I did so until I was tired, and ultimately was obliged to gallop off."

The following passages from the Arabic manuscripts above referred to will interest the reader. They are extract from Dr. Bird's translation of an Arabic manuscript, written in Monrovia, by a negro from the interior, at the request of President Benson, of Liberia, for a gentleman in New York.

The manuscript begins, like the chapters of the Koran, and all common Arab writings, with these words: "In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful," and adds: "May God bless our lord Mohammed, his prophet, and guard him and his disciples, and give him peace abundantly." Then follow several pages on "the Origin of Man," in which the creative power and the wisdom and benevolence of God are magnified; after which the writer proceeds thus:

And God said: "O children of Adam, when you arrive at the age of ten you are bordering on the years of men and women, and you will be expected to attend prayers and preaching, and bear testimony, and not fear the Day of Judgment. You will be tempted by men, who will say: Pursue the ways of sin and disobedience and forgetfulness of what I, the Merciful, have enjoined upon you times without number. O man of thirty years, reckon not yourself a little child, but a man grown. Attend to your fasts, your prayers, day and night; and, if you continue thus day and night, you will be reckoned among the excellent of men, being, in secret and before the world, the same. Son of Adam, if you have come to forty years you have attained your full strength. The marks of full age bear witness to this; your vigor is ripe, your mind is mature; what you have learned is written well on your memory. Guard against wine, and the indulgence of impurity. And then, thou son of fifty years, thou knowest the advantages thy love to the faith hath procured thee. It has brought thee into the society of the great, and it has pleased Him who is the possessor of all excellency and power. Thou son of sixty years, from the decline of your strength your passions are cooled. Look at your noon of life, and judge how far your life and death are in your power; and, if you have not given up your hope in the word of God's prophet, (may God bless him!) you will have established for yourself a good household in these sixty years. O ye who heed not what shall come upon you, take care how you put any one in partnership with God; for this is a dangerous sin, like that of the spilling of blood. O thou son of seventy years, estimate not yourself from the length of your past life, but from the nearness of your death. O thou man of ninety, death is coming upon you with power; but there is no pain in Paradise. O man of a hundred, worn out with a hundred cares; thou who hast challenged to thyself the age of Noah, peace be on thee! Alas! alas! how wilt thou meet thy reward and thy Rewarder? The Most High has brought your stewardship to a close, according to the word of the Lord, who thus testifies to every man who has a heart and an ear: 'O ye old men, remember that the seed, after it has sprouted forth, and before the harvest, dies.' O ye young people, how many that began life have been removed before growing up! Where is Charon and his host? They have



perished. Where is Shadad-ibn-Aad and his host? They have perished. Where are Pharaoh, the accursed, and his host? They have perished. Where are Nimrod, son of Canaan, and his host? Where are the sons and daughters, fathers and mothers of the past idolaters? All perished. Where are your own fathers and mothers, ancient and modern? They also have all perished; and be assured that your end will be the same as theirs."

This passage in the manuscript is followed by several pages of fabulous names and dates professing to be historical, and extravagant accounts of animals, the heavenly bodies, etc., in which mystical numbers are connected with childish errors and impossible events in great confusion. It would seem as if the author had endeavored to write on different subjects of which he once had read or heard, but, being far from his books, remembered correctly only the religious doctrines, which had made a clearer impression on his mind.

The following are extracts from the translation of a manuscript received from ex-President Roberts. This also is written with great elegance and correctness, the proper names being in red ink, and the points carefully marked. This manuscript occupies sixteen letter sheet pages; the other eighteen.

In the name of God, most merciful and gracious, may God bless our lord Mohammed.

Thanks be to God, who is worthy of all gratitude and praise, the forgiver of sins, the possessor of the throne of glory, who created all things by himself, who created death and life, and created the earth and the heavens, and made all creatures in heaven and in the earth, who made the race of man from water; then he made the blood, the heart, and the bones, then he spread the flesh upon the bones, then he added the tendons. Then said God, (be he exalted,) who created you from the ground and from water, that we might show and confirm through mercy what we wish to every generation. . . . O ye people, know ye that God is merciful toward you; but that coming day will be terrible to the unbelievers, who live not as though there were a God, nor as if we were going to return to him. . . . O ye people, fear God and serve your Lord. Do your good works before the dissolution of death. . . . That day, God has said, nothing will profit you but a pure heart. . . . Beware, yea, beware, lest you hear the truth without repenting, and thus debase yourself. If you are asleep, be roused; if you are ignorant, make inquiry; if you are forgetful, refresh your memory; for here are the learned, ready to instruct you; and, said he, on whom be peace, seek after knowledge. Well then, you may say, for example, give us a description of China, ye men of knowledge.

*China.* China is a distant country, so that, though you have



shoes of iron, they would be worn out before you reach it. The name of the Sultan is Aivor. It is said that the journey between Medina and China is one of five years. Some say five hundred years. There are in China ten mountains. One of them has on it two trees, one of which can cover all the people of the country with its shadow; at the same time, if a single man seeks a shelter under it, the shadow covers him and no more. . . . In China are found two kettles, in one of which they cook for all the inhabitants of the country, and they all eat their fill, and there is none too much. In the other they do cooking for strangers if they come among them, and they eat and are satisfied, and there is nothing over. There are in China two serpents, etc., etc.

After a few more such remarkable and incredible statements the writer says :

This account of China may possibly be considered a blemish on this book; but such is the character of the country, on the authority of the learned.

He then commences a long and solemn appeal to the unknown person in whose name he had been requested to send something in writing, and whom he appears to have supposed to be ignorant of the first principles of religion, but for whom he feels an affectionate regard.

O my brother's son, do not join yourself with Satan, for Satan is your enemy, as God, the exalted, has said—for Satan is your enemy; and will you make partnership with your enemy? . . . O, my brother's son, let not the affairs of this life draw away your affections. Follow not the wind; do not deceive yourself, but be prepared, before sickness, or poverty, or old age engross your attention. God, the exalted, says, O man! who has set you against your Lord, who created, shaped, and adjusted you, and put you together in the form that pleased him? God, the exalted, says that the life of this world is of very little profit in the world to come.

The following are extracts from a letter sent to "Old Paul" by a venerable old slave, long known at Fayetteville, N. C., and there called "Morro," in reply to one addressed to him, in 1836:

In the name of God, the compassionate, etc. I am not able to write my life. I have forgotten much of the language of the Arabs. I read not the grammatical, and but little of the common dialect. I ask thee, O brother, to reproach me not, for my eyes are weak, and my body also. [He was then about seventy-one years of age.]

My name is Omar-ben-Sayeed. The place of my birth is Footah-

Toro, between the two rivers. [Probably the Senegal and Gambia, or the Senegal and Niger, in their upper parts.] The teachers of Bundu-foota were a sheik, named Mohammed-Sayeed, my brother, and the sheik Soleyman Kimba, and the sheik Jebraeel-Abdel. I was teacher twenty-five years. There came a great army to my country. They killed many people. They took me to the sea, and sold me in the hands of the Christians, who bound me, and sent me on board of a great ship. And we sailed a month and half a month, when we came to a place called Charleston in the Christian language. Here they sold me to a small, weak, and wicked man named Johnson, a complete infidel, who had no fear of God at all. Now I am a small man, and not able to do hard work. So I fled from the hand of Johnson, and, after a month, came to a place where I saw some houses. On the new moon I went into a large house to pray; a lad saw me, and rode off to the place of his father, and informed him that he had seen a black man in the great house. A man named Handah, (Hunter,) and another man with him, on horseback, came, attended by a troop of dogs. They took me and made me go with them twelve miles, to a place called Faydill, (Fayetteville,) where they put me in a great house, from which I could not go out. I continued in the great house, which in the Christian language they call *jail*, sixteen days and nights. One Friday the jailer came and opened the door, and I saw a great many men, all of them Christians, some of whom called out, What is your name? I did not understand their Christian language.

A man called Bob Mumford took me and led me out of the jail, and I was very well pleased to go with them to their place. I staid at Mumford's four days and nights, and then a man named Jim Owen, son-in-law of Mumford, who married his daughter Betsy, asked me if I was willing to go to a place called Bladen. I said yes, I was willing. I went with them, and have remained on the place of Jim Owen until now.

O people of North Carolina! O people of South Carolina! O people of America, all of you! you have a righteous man among you named James Owen, and with him John Owen. These are pious men. All that they ate I ate; as they dressed I dressed. James and his brother read to me the Gospel. God our Lord, our creator, our king, the arbiter of our condition, the bountiful, opened to my heart the right way.

The translator remarked as follows on the style of writing in the manuscript:

The narrative is very obscure in language, the writer, as he himself declares, being ignorant of the grammatical forms. . . . It is written in a plain and, with few exceptions, very legible *Moghrebby*, or western Arabic character. . . . It affords an idea of the degree of education among the Moslem blacks, when we see a man like this able to read and write a language so different

from his own native tongue. Where is the youth, or even the adult, among the mass of our people who is able to do the same in Latin or Greek?

By a fortunate incident the writer of one of the first-mentioned manuscripts from Liberia added at the end half a page in some language unknown to the translator, but doubtless some African tongue; thus affording evidence of the interesting fact, so little known in our country, that native languages are written in Arabic characters.

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#### ART. VI.—THE PRISON ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK.

THE society whose name stands at the head of this article has completed the nineteenth year of its existence and labors. During all that period it has pursued a career of quiet and unobtrusive but effective beneficence, and has received the benedictions of thousands who were ready to perish, but have been reclaimed, redeemed, and restored to themselves, to society, and to virtuous and useful industry through its agency. We propose in the present paper, of necessity, in a very summary way, to trace the history of this excellent and worthy organization, and to show both what it proposes and what it has accomplished in the improvement of our penal institutions, and in the reformation and elevation of the degraded, vicious, and fallen portion of humanity.

The Association has published eighteen Annual Reports, and the nineteenth will doubtless be issued in a few days. These embody, besides a connected history of its own labors, numerous letters, speeches, and essays of unsurpassed ability, and of the highest authority, on all the great questions connected with prison discipline, prison reform, and the administration of penal justice. It would be difficult, we think, to find a collection of papers on topics of this nature more philosophical in their cast, more comprehensive in their range of inquiry and discussion, more enlightened and liberal in their doctrines, more humane in their spirit, more vigorous in conception, more classical in style, or better adapted to elevate, improve, and render effective, in the production of the noblest

results, the administration of criminal law and penal justice. It is, as a matter of course, this series of reports which we make the basis of the present article.

The Prison Association owes its origin to the Board of Prison Inspectors of the State of New York, who, in November, 1844, through their president, Hon. John W. Edmonds, issued a card in the public papers, setting forth the occasion and necessity for such an organization. This card was accompanied by a call for a public meeting, signed by many of the most eminent citizens of New York, among whom may be mentioned Benjamin F. Butler, William Kent, John Duer, Ogden Hoffman, Daniel Lord, James Harper, John A. Dix, Robert B. Minturn, and the Rev. Drs. James Milnor, Gardiner Spring, Jonathan W. Wainwright, and Orville Dewey.

The proposed meeting was held on the evening of December 6 ensuing, the Hon. Wm. T. M'Coun, Vice-Chancellor of the State, presiding. As soon as the meeting had been organized Judge Edmonds submitted the following resolution, namely:

*Resolved*, That it is expedient to form, in the city of New York, a Prison Association, and that a committee be appointed by the Chair to report to this meeting a form of such association, and a nomination of suitable officers therefor.

Judge Edmonds supported his resolution in a lucid and able address. He presented a mass of interesting and instructive facts and statistics, gathered during his service as State Prison Inspector. He showed the almost insuperable difficulties encountered by discharged convicts in obtaining employment; the fearful alternative presented to them by society to starve or steal, and the well-nigh irresistible temptation thence arising to continue in a career of evil doing; the abundant streams of crime issuing from poverty, ignorance, sudden temptation, evil associations, youthful inexperience, insanity, and mental imbecility; the hardening and degrading influence of severity, and the softening, elevating, reformatory effect of kindness in the treatment of prisoners; the necessity and good results of the classification of convicts, and of their instruction as well in secular as religious knowledge; the hopeful nature of the work contemplated by the new organiza-

tion; the suppression of crime by raising and reforming the fallen, and the need of a thorough reform in the principles and modes of prison discipline. He also mentioned some startling facts demonstrative of the excessive, and even appalling, cruelties sometimes inflicted upon the convicts by the authorities of Auburn Prison. The Rev. William H. Channing seconded the resolution of Judge Edmonds, and enforced it in a train of remarks similar to those of the mover, in which he particularly showed that prisons ought to be made houses of reform rather than places of torment, and that society *owes* to criminals aid and support in their efforts to reform, since it is itself, by its neglects and injustice, in part at least, responsible for their crimes.

The resolution was adopted, and a committee appointed to draft a constitution and nominate officers.

Theodore Sedgwick, Esq., then moved the following resolution, which was carried unanimously :

*Resolved*, That it is proper that such society should have in view the condition and interest of persons arrested for crime and detained for trial, and after trial, until their commitment to their final place of confinement, and particularly of juvenile offenders.

Professor J. L. Tellkamp, then a citizen of the United States, but since chief inspector of prisons in the kingdom of Prussia, offered the following resolution :

*Resolved*, That the state and condition of prison discipline, including the treatment which prisoners receive during their confinement, the melioration of the condition of prisoners, the improvement of the government of our prisons, and the substitution in their management of the law of kindness for that of force, are objects worthy the attention of philanthropists, and deserve the particular consideration of such a society.

Prof. Tellkamp supported his motion by a written address of much learning and power. He discussed at length the separate and silent methods of prison discipline, more commonly known at that time as the Philadelphia and Auburn systems. As between the two systems, he gave the preference to the latter; but at the same time he advocated a third system, compounded of both the others—a sort of eclectic method—as upon the whole superior to either. He animadverted with emphasis upon the tendency of the Philadelphia system to

produce mental imbecility and insanity in prisoners, and upon the cruelties practiced in enforcing discipline under the Auburn plan. He was particularly earnest, not to say severe, upon the system of contract labor in prisons, as both wrong in principle and injurious in its influence upon the convicts, since it wholly overlooks their moral amelioration, and regards and treats them only as so much machinery to be employed in the production of money. He gave an interesting outline of a plan of prison discipline presented by himself to the Cabinet of Prussia and adopted by the government of that country, in which the houses of detention were to be constructed upon the separate plan; state lunatic asylums were to be erected for the reception of insane convicts, and the penitentiaries were to be organized in three departments: the first on principles similar to those of the Philadelphia system, and the other two on the Auburn plan. We believe that since Prof. Tellkamp has been officially connected with the prisons of Prussia he has become a full convert to the separate, as contradistinguished from the congregate system of prison discipline.

The professor's resolution was adopted.

Mr. Isaac T. Hopper then offered the following:

*Resolved*, That to sustain and encourage discharged convicts, who give satisfactory evidence of repentance and reformation, in their endeavors to lead honest lives, by affording them employment, and guarding them against temptation, is demanded of us, not only by the interests of society, but by every dictate of humanity.

*Resolved*, That in the formation of such a society it would be proper to have a female department, to be especially regardful of the interests and welfare of prisoners of that sex.

In supporting his resolutions Mr. Hopper, who, as prison inspector in Philadelphia, had had large experience among convicts, related several highly interesting cases of reformation, the effect of kind words discreetly spoken, and of kind acts judiciously bestowed. He said that he had personally aided as many as fifty young culprits to regain their character and standing, and he had the satisfaction of being able to state that only two of them had turned out badly. He added that he could not help mentioning a subject which often gave him great pain. He often saw in the papers accounts of young



people committed to prison for small offenses; in this way their characters were blasted, and they often became reckless and desperate. If those who prosecuted on such occasions would only make use of fatherly reproof and friendly advice and encouragement, he was confident that a very large portion of these delinquents might become useful and honored members of society.

After the adoption of Mr. Hopper's resolutions, the Society was organized under the name and title of "The Prison Association of New York," by the adoption of a constitution and by-laws, and the election of Vice-Chancellor William T. M'Coun as president, and Theodore Frelinghuysen, Benjamin F. Butler, John W. Edmonds, and Abraham Van Nest as vice-presidents. The officers were, a president, four vice-presidents, a treasurer, a corresponding secretary, a recording secretary, and a board of managers, called an "executive committee," which was subdivided into four standing committees, namely: a committee on finance, a committee on detentions, a committee on discharged convicts, and a committee on prison discipline.

The objects of the Association, as stated in the Constitution, and more fully in an appeal to the public by the Executive Committee, are three: I. A humane attention to persons arrested and held for examination or trial, including inquiry into the circumstances of their arrest and the crimes charged against them; the securing to the destitute and friendless strict justice in their cases, and protection from the depredations of unprincipled and unfaithful persons with whom he may come in contact. II. Encouragement and aid to discharged convicts in their efforts to reform and earn an honest living, by procuring situations for them, by providing them tools to enable them to commence business for themselves, and by keeping up a paternal oversight and friendly correspondence after they have been thus provided for. III. The reformation of prisons themselves, and the improvement of prison discipline and government; an object the most important of all, since it goes to the root of the matter, builds at the foundation, and purifies the streams in the fountain.

The first annual meeting of the Association was held in the Broadway Tabernacle, on the evening of December 5,

1845. It was an occasion of great interest. The Boston Prison Discipline Society, and the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons, were present by their delegates, who presented interesting and valuable communications from the organizations which they represented. Addresses were made by several gentlemen, particularly one of great eloquence and power by the Hon. John Duer, in which he depicted, in vivid and appalling colors, the abuses prevalent in our prisons, more especially our city prisons, and pressed upon the conscience of every man and every woman in the community the duty of aiding in some way, either by personal effort or the contribution of money, or both, in the removal of those abuses and the reform of the prisons.

The report of the first year's labors shows that the Association had entered intelligently, industriously, and successfully upon its appropriate work. Mr. Isaac T. Hopper was appointed agent of the Society, with special reference to aiding the Detention and Discharged Convict Committees. A female department, in accordance with one of the resolutions before named, was organized, a house rented for the accommodation of this class of delinquents, and two matrons appointed to take charge of the establishment.

That part of the Society's labor which is bestowed upon persons detained for examination or trial is necessarily confined to the cities of New York and Brooklyn. The members of the Detention Committee, though pressed by the claims of private business, were zealous and active in the discharge of their duties in the cause of humanity. Their visits to the numerous detention prisons, including the two principal city prisons, were sufficiently frequent to give them a familiar acquaintance with their condition and government. They speak of them as a disgrace to the public authorities, as daily inflicting grievous wrong upon the community; as ill-constructed, ill-arranged, void of all proper system, costly in their maintenance, and baneful in the extreme in their moral influence. They congratulate themselves, however, on having accomplished some useful results in this field, particularly in the attention given to the cases of eighty boys who had been arrested, forty-eight of whom were restored to their parents or friends, and, it was hoped, to the path of rectitude and virtue.

The Discharged Convict Committee also labored assiduously in their appropriate function, and with no little encouragement and success. The great object here was to prevent released prisoners from relapsing into crime by securing them from the temptations of want, and affording them the means of obtaining an honest livelihood. Two hundred and twenty-nine discharged prisoners, male and female, were aided by furnishing them, to a less or greater extent, with board, clothing, tools to set up business for themselves, etc., etc. Eighty-three were provided with places, concerning seventy of whom the Association had received reports from their employers of their continued good conduct; a proportion, as the Report truly declares, beyond what might have been expected, and showing that much good can be done even to the fallen and the abandoned without any great expenditure of time or money—the main draft being upon the kindly sympathies of our nature, a fountain from which there ought to be a constant flow of living waters. It is a sad mistake to suppose that all convicted criminals are hopelessly depraved. This is so far from being the case that the greater part may, by kind and judicious encouragement, be won back to the ways of virtue, while the very same persons would, in all probability, by harshness and rigor be irretrievably plunged into the abyss of crime.

The Committee having charge of the department of Prison Discipline were particularly enjoined to visit and inspect the various prisons of the state. That they might be able to discharge this duty in a satisfactory manner they applied to the Legislature for an act of incorporation, with power to examine thoroughly both state and county prisons. The Assembly, with great unanimity, passed the necessary bill; but the Senate, either from jealousy of interference with state institutions, or ignorance of the real objects of the Association, refused its assent, and the bill was not enacted into a law. Nevertheless, the Committee, by courtesy and without authority of law, inspected not only the prisons of New York and Brooklyn, but also the State Prison at Sing Sing and some six or eight county prisons. They found, particularly in the city and county prisons, defects of a grave and glaring character; among which they enumerate the huddling together, in the same apartment, of prisoners of all grades and ages, and in some

instances of both sexes; filth, ill-ventilation, vermin, idleness, frequent change of officers, etc., etc. They found the associations of the prisons to be for evil and evil only, and the prisoners, including the man of gray hairs and the mere youth, the murderer and the vagrant, the expert and the novice, all herded together, and subjected to influences the most corrupting and ruinous. The Association, in this its First Annual Report, came out distinctly and emphatically in favor of solitary confinement in all detention prisons and county jails. They avow the opinion that whatever arguments may be used against the separate system for more protracted periods of confinement, that system is obviously and decidedly preferable for short ones.

In regard to the two leading systems of Prison Discipline which have divided the world, the solitary and the silent, the separate and the congregate, the Philadelphia and the Auburn, as they have been variously called, the Association declared itself not pledged to either, but disposed rather to advocate a plan combined of both, avoiding the evils of each, adopting their respective advantages, and attempting to mould from them a system which should receive the sanction of all humane persons, and be truly and emphatically national in its character. The congregate system had been too generally administered with harshness, rigor, and even cruelty, and these evils had been considered inseparable from this system. It was this consideration mainly that created so strong a prejudice against the congregate system in the several commissions from European States, sent out by their governments to inspect the prisons of the United States. The New York Prison Association, in their First Annual Report, took ground against the idea that the severity complained of was necessarily inherent in the congregate system, but maintained that it was due rather to the want of fitness and adequate qualification in the persons selected to administer it. In confirmation of this view, the Association refers to the House of Correction in Boston, where, during a period of twelve years, though more than seven thousand criminals had been received, many of them exceedingly depraved, not a single blow had been struck, and yet the best of discipline had been maintained. It also refers to efforts recently and successfully made to introduce a milder system of

government into the prison at Sing Sing. In the male prison, where the reform had been by slow and timid steps, the number of lashes per month had been reduced from three thousand to two hundred and fifty; and yet the prison was confessedly as well governed as before. But in the female prison, where the change was conducted with bolder and more rapid strides, the greatest success was attained and the highest encouragement afforded; for whereas previously the number of offenses against prison rules had been at the rate of four hundred and fifty per annum, now these offenses were reduced to forty; and yet the discipline of the prison was vastly superior to what it had been before. Where all had been disorder and anarchy a year ago, all now was order, quiet, and good government. These beneficial results were secured by laying aside the harsher features of the congregate system, and replacing them with the milder discipline of the separate system.

The second anniversary of the Prison Association, which was held in the Hall of the Stuyvesant Institute on the evening of the 22d of December, 1846, was no less interesting than the first. Representatives were present from the Philadelphia and Boston Prison Societies, and letters were read from many distinguished gentlemen, both of our own country and Europe, among which were communications from Governor Seward, and from Dr. Julius, of Berlin, and M. de Tocqueville, of France.

The Annual Report for this year is an able and highly encouraging document, showing that the Association had been no less industrious than the preceding year in the prosecution of its appropriate objects, and that the success attained was no less conspicuous and cheering. The prisons visited and examined during the year by competent committees were the three state prisons, the penitentiaries on Blackwell's Island and at Albany, the city prisons of New York and Brooklyn, and ten county jails.

In regard to the county prisons, the Report avers that, for all purposes other than security, the system is a failure; that safety indeed is, in almost all of them, the sole end in view; that reformation—the great object of imprisonment—is lost sight of; that moral corruption is the grand result attained

through their agency; that they are, to a great extent, nurseries and feeders to our penitentiaries and state prisons; and that, in short, so injurious in its consequences is the existing system of imprisonment, it is a question whether the interests of society would not be as effectively served by its abandonment as by its continuance. The opinion is expressed that our county prisons never can be what an enlightened regard to the public weal demands until they afford opportunities for reflection, instruction the inculcation of religious principles, and the formation of industrious habits. Now the difficulty in the way of a system which would secure these essential conditions lies in the small number of the convicts in most of our jails. To meet this difficulty the important suggestion is made that the state be divided into an adequate number of penal districts, in each of which, in some central position, a prison on the most improved plan should be erected, in which there should be introduced and effectively applied all the best agencies of reformation; as classification, labor, hygienic appliances, and adequate instruction, secular, industrial, moral, and religious.

The investigation of the penitentiary on Blackwell's Island, conducted by a very intelligent and able committee, of which the late distinguished Judge Duer was a member, revealed abuses and evils in the organization and management of that institution of the most flagrant and revolting character. Among these were: a total want of ventilation; an extreme filthiness and slovenliness in the dress and persons of the prisoners; the packing of two hundred women into a workshop whose dimensions were one hundred feet by seventy-five feet, with only the occasional supervision of a matron, where ribald jests, obscene talk, and horrid oaths were the order of the day, the whole forming a seething mass of corrupted and corrupting humanity; a female hospital, with an average population of one hundred and fifty patients, nearly all prostitutes, constituting in fact the great venereal hospital of the city, where these wretched outcasts are cured at the expense of the public, which is thus made to pay a direct and enormous tax for the support of licentiousness; the smallness of the proportion of prisoners required to work, the unproductiveness of their labor, and the looseness of the business management of the prison, not a



solitary article manufactured by the convicts having been accounted for; an utter want of fitness for their duties of many of the officials, as shown in the not infrequent use by them of language ordinarily heard only from the lowest and most abandoned, so that many of them, instead of being ensamples to the prisoners of moderation, sobriety, and decorum, were, on the contrary, violent, intemperate, vulgar, and profane; the introduction of political tests into the appointment of officers, and a consequent subjection of the executive administration of the prison to the control of party politics; the flooding of the island at all times with a promiscuous company, through a system of indiscriminate and almost unlimited permits to visit it issued by various grades of city officials, whereby discipline was materially interfered with, opportunities afforded for a flagrant abuse of the privilege, and what was designed to be simply and solely a penal institution perverted to the support and encouragement of the grossest licentiousness; the supervision, in part, of the female prisoners by male keepers, who were not only permitted, but required to lock up the females at night, and one of them at Bellevue, had the entire charge of his gang, day and night, to the number of sixty; and, finally, the want of adequate provision for the secular, moral, and religious instruction of the prison population. These and other abuses and deficiencies are set forth and animadverted upon with a just severity in the Report now under consideration.

But the most comprehensive, thorough, and satisfactory examinations of the penal institutions of the Commonwealth were those of the three State Prisons, Sing Sing, Auburn, and Clinton. A great improvement was reported in the condition and working of these institutions. The reign of cruelty seemed to have passed away, a great and radical change having taken place in the government of the state prisons within the three preceding years. The Clinton Prison, indeed, had from its origin (then quite recent) been thus well and wisely governed; and now, at Sing Sing and Auburn, where three year previously nearly one hundred blows a day had been struck, and the whipping post was never dry, weeks and even months elapsed without a blow. The infliction of corporal punishment had become infrequent, and he was considered the best officer who

had permitted the longest time to pass away without resorting to it. The following general facts were elicited by these investigations: That our state prisons had been erected at an expense exceeding \$950,000; that they had accommodations for two thousand one hundred and fifty convicts, were governed by one hundred and sixteen officers, and involved an annual expenditure of more than \$220,000; that they had been self-supporting, until certain highly profitable branches of industry previously pursued in them were prohibited by the Legislature,\* and that they had become nearly so again; that only about one hundredth part of the large yearly outlay upon the prisons was directed to the moral and mental improvement of the prisoners, while the whole of the residue was devoted to material interests; that the system of government had been almost entirely one of physical force, but was now happily modified and improved from its former harshness and cruelty, and brought to a nearer conformity to the principles of reason and humanity; and that the plan of farming out the labor of the convicts, in other words, the contract system, though probably adapted to advance the financial prosperity of the prisons, has in it much that is calculated to interfere with the moral improvement of the prisoners, much that has a tendency to restore and perpetuate the former hard and iron rule. The method of investigation pursued by the committees charged with that duty was to have a personal interview with each prisoner, and to examine, under oath, the officers of the prison, and also the contractors and their clerks, to an extent sufficient to enable them to understand truly and fully the government and discipline, as well as the general condition and working of the institution.

The Detention and Discharged Convict Committees were assiduously and successfully engaged in the discharge of their respective duties, as well by their personal exertions as through their agent. A large number of persons detained for trial or examination received attention and relief, according to their several necessities. Of discharged convicts, five hundred and six were relieved by the Association to a less or greater extent,

\* It is to be regretted that the Report does not specify the branches of labor thus forbidden by the Legislature, that we might know the cause of the prohibition, and judge of its propriety and wisdom.

two hundred and five of them being provided with permanent employment. Concerning far the greater part of these, good and encouraging accounts were received from their employers.

The application to the Legislature for a charter, whose failure was reported the preceding year, met with a better fate on its renewal this year. A charter of a liberal and comprehensive character was granted, one which imposes grave duties and confers high powers. Among the duties imposed is that of "visiting, inspecting, and examining all the prisons in the state, and reporting annually to the Legislature their state and condition, and all such other things concerning them as may enable the Legislature to perfect their government and discipline." Among the powers conferred is that of "establishing a work-house in the county of New York," and that of "examining on oath any of the officers of the prisons, and to converse with any of the prisoners therein, without the presence of the keepers or any of them." To enable them to carry into effect the first-named of these powers, the Association presented an elaborate and earnest memorial to the Common Council, praying for a grant of money to that end. This application was for a considerable period renewed from year to year, but without effect. No appropriation of money was ever made to the Association for this object. Nevertheless, in the year 1849, and no doubt as the result of the Society's efforts, a work-house was established on Blackwell's Island. This greatly desired object was directly accomplished through Judge Edmonds, one of the originators, and long an honored and useful member of the Prison Association, acting in his official capacity as a civil magistrate.

The Fourth Annual Report of the Association, which records the transactions of two years, (1847 and 1848,) shows a prosecution of its appropriate work equally vigorous and successful as before.

During the two years covered by this Report the work of prison inspection was carried out with vigor, although obstructions were interposed in reference to the Sing Sing prison which resulted in preventing any examination of that institution. The two other state prisons, Auburn and Clinton, were visited and examined. A great advance is reported in the humane character of the discipline of those prisons. The

officers, with few exceptions, were found to be intelligent, capable, and humane; and, as a general thing, they were respected and esteemed by the convicts. Both the number of prison offenses and the amount and severity of punishment had very sensibly diminished. After a searching examination of all the convicts, but one instance of barbarity was discovered in the Auburn prison, showing a state of things which contrasted favorably with that of former years. And although, owing to the bitter and persistent opposition of the warden of Sing Sing prison, no examination was permitted there, it was ascertained without such examination that, since the organization of the Prison Association, and doubtless as the result of its agency, the number of monthly violations of prison rules had diminished from one hundred and fifteen to sixty-six, and the number of lashes given per month from one thousand one hundred and twenty-one to thirty-eight; while at the same time the average prices of convict labor per day had increased from thirty-one cents to forty-five cents; showing very clearly that kindness, by promoting a contented and cheerful spirit in the convicts, had, in equal proportion, augmented their productive industry.

The favorable influence of the Prison Association on the feelings, hopes, aims, and purposes of the convicts in our state prisons, had been, according to the Report under consideration, decided and conspicuous. It had shown them that, though they were fallen and debased, there were still those in the community who cared for them, sympathized with them, and were willing and anxious to co-operate with them in their efforts to reform. This conviction carried with it at once a soothing and quickening influence upon convicts, tranquilizing their minds, and stirring them up to resolutions and efforts looking to a reformation of life. A no less beneficial effect had been produced upon prison officers by the agency of the Association. They had thereby been incited to greater diligence in the discharge of their official duties, and moved to a more humane treatment of the prisoners under their care and control.

Twenty county prisons had been examined by committees of the Association, which were found to be in the same deplorable condition, and to be exerting the same corrupting and ruinous influence upon their inmates as the prisons previously reported upon.

The work of looking after detained and providing situations for discharged prisoners had been pursued with no less diligence and success than in former years.

A service of the highest importance and value had, in 1847, been rendered to the community by the Prison Association. During the previous year a new Constitution had been framed and put in operation in the State of New York. As the said Constitution had materially changed the system of prison government, it became necessary to adopt the statute law to the requirements of the new organic law. Accordingly, in the session of 1847 and 1848, bills were early introduced into both houses of the Legislature with a view to securing such adaptation. As these bills were framed to meet the requirements of the Constitution rather than with a view to improvement in penal discipline, the Association felt it to be their duty, as a fitting occasion had arisen, to propose such alterations in the laws, in relation to this subject, as the progress of civilization and the best interests of the State seemed to require. A committee was accordingly appointed, consisting of John Duer, John W. Edmonds, Benjamin F. Butler, John D. Russ, and Rensselaer N. Havens, to consider and report what alterations and improvements could be advantageously proposed. The committee, embracing, as our readers will have noticed, some of the ablest jurists in the country, found the statutes relating to this subject scattered over a legislation of so many years that it was difficult, in many instances, even to discover what the law really was. Under such circumstances, it was believed by the committee that they could render a more important service to the state, as well as more completely effect their own object in the advancement of the interests of humanity, by collecting, arranging, and consolidating into one act the then existing laws, availing themselves, however, at the same time, of the opportunity to suggest and introduce such amendments as they might judge necessary and proper. This was truly a Herculean task; but the Committee, prompted by a noble patriotism and philanthropy, and with no hope of reward other than the consciousness of doing good, undertook and accomplished the labor; and the result was the very thorough, elaborate, comprehensive, and admirable bill, which the Legislature of 1847 enacted into a law, creating and fixing the present

prison system of New York. Thus has the Prison Association brought the state under a weighty obligation of gratitude for essential aid rendered in the important work of improving its criminal jurisprudence.

The labors and operations of the Prison Association for the year 1849 are detailed in their Fifth Annual Report. The unhappy controversy between the Association and the Board of State Prison Inspectors, reported as having commenced the preceding year, was continued with increased emphasis, we might almost say bitterness, during the year now under review, and for a number of years subsequently. Into the merits of this controversy our space will not permit us, and our inclination forbids us, to enter. We will, however, venture a single remark. The Association appears to us to be fully sustained by its charter of incorporation in its claims of a right to inspect the prisons, and, in so doing, to converse with the prisoners separate and apart from the keepers or any of them: at the same time, it seems to us, nevertheless, to have committed a grave indiscretion—and one likely to produce (as in fact it did) increased irritation and opposition—in spreading, year after year, upon the pages of its Annual Reports an unlimited quantity of the tales received from convicts discharged from Sing Sing Prison, whose truth there had been, under the circumstances, no opportunity of testing. Although this controversy continued for many years, and its effects reached even beyond its own existence, materially circumscribing the operations of the Association and crippling its usefulness, so far as the duty of prison inspection prescribed by the Legislature was concerned, all that has now ceased, and we consider it a fit subject of congratulation that at the present time the most cordial relations exist between the Prison Association and the Board of Inspectors, and indeed between the Association and the prison authorities, in all the different classes of prisons throughout the State.

With the exception of prison inspection, which, during the year 1849, was limited to the city of New York and its immediate vicinity, the Association pursued its accustomed work, particularly in examining complaints, looking after the arrested, and providing situations for the discharged, with its usual energy and success.



With keen and piercing glance it peered into the numerous abuses and defects in the administration of criminal justice in New York, and with fearless heart and trenchant hand exposed them in its Report. It still found the city prison, (the Tombs,) to use its own language, "literally, and without exaggeration, a moral pest-house," and the penitentiary on Blackwell's Island "one of the worst governed prisons in Christendom."

There is, however, one redeeming institution, one bright spot amid the general gloom. The work-house system, for which the Society had so long, so intelligently, and so earnestly labored, went into operation on Blackwell's Island this year. It opened on the 14th day of June with thirty-seven inmates, and the commitments from that date to December 31 inclusive swelled to four hundred and twenty-five. The new institution had many difficulties to struggle with in the commencement of its career. Nevertheless, the Report uses in reference to it the following strongly encouraging language: "This new establishment, from the character of its organization, and the wisdom, energy, and skill with which it is conducted, promises to be the most interesting as well as orderly and successful institution in our city. It has now only been in operation since the 15th of June, and already the receipts, with only about two hundred and fifty convicts, average about \$2,000 a week, or over \$100,000 a year, a greater amount than is earned by the eight hundred in the Penitentiary." Thus were the zeal and the arguments of the Association in favor of the establishment of a work-house more than justified by the result. Mr. Harmon Eldridge, a gentleman thoroughly imbued with the doctrines of the Association on the subject of prison discipline and in full sympathy with them, was, through its influence, appointed superintendent of the new establishment. In a letter, dated Jan. 1, 1850, addressed to a committee of the Association, he says: "I have no hesitation in saying, from daily and careful observation, that with buildings properly adapted for a work-house with a view to the classification of the various grades of character, and with stringent rules and regulations for its good government, that it will not only improve the moral condition of its inmates, but it will be more satisfactory to the tax-payers of the city of New York. A work-house will improve the penitentiary system in various ways. It will enable you to separate

crime and poverty, or, in other words, the 'court prisoners' from the vagrants. It will relieve the penitentiary of more than half its population, and remove the embarrassments created by its present crowded state."

We regret that the limits to which any one paper in this journal must be confined will forbid our following the Prison Association, year by year, along the entire track of its honorable and useful career in the work of reforming prisoners, and the still more important work of reforming the prisons themselves. Both these objects were prosecuted with much zeal and vigor, and the latter in the way of prison inspection as extensively as the limited means at command would permit, during the first ten or twelve years of the Society's existence. During the last six or eight years of its history, as we learn from the Reports of those years, owing to a want of funds for the purpose, and perhaps also from some decay of zeal in the cause, the work of visiting, inspecting, and examining prisons has been almost totally suspended. In all that time, no State prison or penitentiary, and but very few county jails, have been examined and reported on.

But while this branch of the society's work appears to have fallen into some degree of neglect, that department of its labors which embraces the cities of New York and Brooklyn, which is directed to the care and reformation of detained and discharged prisoners, has been conducted by Mr. Abraham Beal, general agent of the Association, with eminent industry, zeal, wisdom, energy, and success. Mr. Beal has, from year to year and from day to day, systematically visited the various prisons and detention houses in these two cities, attended upon the criminal courts, and given special attention to such cases as seemed to call for his interposition. The child or youth of tender years, the novice in crime, the emigrant to whom our language and laws are unknown, the wrongfully arrested, the guilty but penitent prisoner, and those in whose cases mitigating circumstances are found to exist, have received from him, as the representative of the Association, that consideration which philanthropy should bestow upon the young, the weak, the ignorant, the tempted, and the unfortunate. To show the extraordinary activity and devotion of this gentleman, we present to our readers a summary statement of his labors for a sin-

gle year. We select that of 1861. During that year he visited six thousand one hundred and fifty persons, comparatively poor and helpless, in our city and detention prisons. He examined one thousand three hundred and thirty-eight complaints, giving counsel and aid to the persons against whom they had been made. He procured the abandonment of four hundred and sixty-one complaints, most of which were the result of prejudice or passion, or too trivial to be entertained. He procured the discharge of five hundred and six persons, either very young or clearly innocent, or manifestly penitent and resolved to sin no more. He assisted with board and aided to reach their friends or employment remote from the city six hundred and seventy-six discharged convicts. He supplied with clothing, less or more, one hundred and fifty-two others of the same class. And he procured work, in town or country, for two hundred and forty-one released prisoners. This is a catalogue of labors for a single year, which places in a very clear point of view both the zeal and usefulness of this devoted philanthropist.

There is a feature in the work of the Association, as conducted by their general agent, of very great importance and utility, and which ought to be distinctly brought before the public eye. It is well known that in some countries there are regularly constituted tribunals called Courts of Conciliation, the design of which is to prevent as well family and neighborhood feuds as tedious and expensive litigation, by an amicable settlement of differences. The labors of the Society's agent supply, in a great measure, the want of such a court in this community. Innumerable difficulties, originating in mistake, passion, drink, sudden temptation, or the like, many of which would otherwise grow to formidable proportions, are adjusted through his agency. In this way husbands and wives temporarily alienated are reunited in feeling; hostile parties are reconciled; offenders are reclaimed; much expense is saved to the community; and the sum total of human happiness is greatly augmented. These, and such as these, are declared in the last Annual Report to be every-day results of Mr. Beal's judicious interposition; results, as the Report truly adds, most important in themselves, as well as cheering to every humane and philanthropic heart.

The economic relations and bearings of the Prison Association constitute an aspect of it well worthy of attention. We conscientiously believe that, as a measure of public economy, the wealthier part of our citizens, who have the bulk of the taxes to pay, cannot lay out a portion of their money to better advantage than in aiding this society in its work. While the Association thus far has cost the community less than \$50,000, there can be no doubt that it has saved it hundreds of thousands in a diminished expenditure for the administration of criminal justice on the one hand, and, on the other, in the accumulations of an industry which would otherwise, at least a considerable part of it, have been but a negative quantity. The Association, then, in a merely economic view, must be regarded as a great public and social benefit, since it costs far less to prevent crime than to punish it; and the prevention of crime by raising the fallen is the foundation principle of this organization. The surest and cheapest protection to society against the bad is to make them good; a result which, by the blessing of God on honest and patient effort, can be effected, as experience has shown, in a much larger number of cases than is commonly supposed possible; for be it known to our readers that all is not evil within the walls of our prisons, any more than all is good outside of those walls. Self-interest, therefore, even if there were no higher motive, should enlarge the charities of the benevolent toward the guilty and the fallen. They return to society, on their discharge, either pirates or penitents; and it lies mainly with society itself to say which it shall be.

We find in the last Annual Report the following paragraph:

The Association has made an important modification in its arrangements during the past year. We have long felt the need—indispensable to the most effective prosecution of our work—of an Executive Officer who would devote his whole time and energies to the interests of the Society. We have accordingly invited to the office of Corresponding Secretary, heretofore rather nominal and honorary than otherwise, the Rev. E. C. Wine, D.D., late President of the City University of St. Louis. He has accepted the position tendered him, and has entered upon the discharge of its duties. It will be the business of the Corresponding Secretary, besides providing the needful funds, to carry on an extended correspondence, both in our own country and Europe, with gentlemen connected with the administration of penal justice; to collect and examine reports of penal institutions at home and abroad; to present our cause in such pulpits as may be open to him; to

inspect and examine prisons; to make himself familiar with the doings of other organizations similar to our own, and with the whole range of penal literature; and to digest, arrange, and render available, in tabulated and other forms, the statistics of crime gathered from all quarters.

As the writer of the present article is the incumbent of the said office, it would be a violation of modesty for him to say more than that, under the new arrangement, the Association has entered with ardor upon a broader field of labor than heretofore, and one more in accordance with the original design of its formation. For the first time within its history pecuniary aid has been obtained, both from the city and state governments, and there was a prospect, as stated in the last Report, that every prison in the state, of whatever grade, would be visited and thoroughly explored within the current year, and the results reported to the Legislature in the next annual communication to that body. This promise, we have reason to think, will be redeemed.

We find, in the Report for 1862, the following summation of results accomplished by the Association during the eighteen years of its existence: 54,714 detained prisoners visited and counseled; 5,630 detained prisoners discharged on the recommendation of the Association; 18,911 complaints examined; 4,908 complaints withdrawn at the instance of the Society; 7,676 discharged convicts aided with money or clothing, or both; 2,729 discharged convicts provided with situations; and seventy inspections of prisons made. Less than five per cent. of those provided with situations have ever returned to prison, according to the best information obtained; and a very large proportion appear to have been thoroughly reclaimed, and those of them who are still living are pursuing a career of virtuous and useful industry.

The Executive Committee close their eighteenth Annual Report in these words:

The appeal of the criminal and the prisoner is to that high and noble philanthropy which can overlook the past and stoop to raise the fallen; that philanthropy which whispers words of consolation to the erring, and guides the feet of the wanderer back into the path of virtue. It is a philanthropy akin to that Divine benevolence which, in calling backsliders to return, promises to "heal their backslidings;" nay, even to be "merciful to their unrighteousness," and to "remember their sins and iniquities no more."



It is to such a philanthropy that we would appeal in behalf of the discharged convict. We say to society: "Give him another chance. Speak kindly to him. Let him have your sympathy. Meet him with a smile instead of a frown. Open the heart and the hand to his relief. He starts at his own shadow. He feels that, like Cain, he is a 'fugitive and a vagabond upon the earth.' Terrible indeed are his struggles; for he has foes within as well as without to combat. His soul is driven to and fro between the frowns of the world and the upbraidings of conscience. These awaken remorse; those despair. Does not a being thus agitated and distressed need sympathy and encouragement? And shall his appeal, shall our appeal for him, be in vain to those whom a kind Providence has guarded in the hours of temptation, and whose cup overflows with blessings? Remember the words of the Lord Jesus, at once so condescending and so gracious: 'I was in prison, and ye came unto me:' 'inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.'"

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#### ART. VII.—JAMES FLOY, D.D.

THE life-stories of the great and good are among the most valuable treasures of the commonwealth of humanity. They at once supply the incentives to noble actions, and show the methods by which such actions may be made effective of the greatest good. This general truth is, however, especially and most emphatically applicable in the associations of religious life. The Church is strengthened and made effective by the active devotion of her living members, while her garnered wealth is constantly augmented by the unforgotten virtues of life and character of those who have finished their course and entered upon their reward. As the children of a provident father are first served and blessed by him while living, and at his dying are endowed with his treasured wealth, so the living members of the militant Church are not only profited by their godly services, but they also have each an inheritance in the good name and remembered excellencies of those who have lived and died in the faith. Hence the high value that has ever been accorded to Christian biography, and the occasion for the careful diligence with which the Church collects and transmits the mem-



ories of her departed worthies. With such reflections we have prepared the following sketch of one whom God had richly gifted, and who, dying, has left his name and reputation to the custody and the enriching of his Church.

JAMES FLOY, D.D., late of the New York East Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, was born in the city of New York, August 20, 1806. His father was English by birth, and a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church. His mother was a native of New York, and a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, into which communion her husband also came, during the infancy of their children. No event of his childhood and youth was of a character to require our special notice. He attended the grammar-school of Columbia College, and afterward pursued the undergraduate course at that institution; but on account of his father's desire that his education should be more immediately practical, he left college without a degree and went to London, where he became a student of botany and horticulture at the Royal Gardens. He afterward returned to New York, and at a later date was employed as a clerk in the Methodist Book Room.

Of the beginning of his religious life, and his entrance upon the work of the ministry, he has left this record:

I was in the employ of Waugh & Mason, Book Agents of the Methodist Episcopal Church, when I was converted at a protracted meeting in Allen-street. This occurred on the 13th of February, 1831. . . . After my conversion I devoted most of my leisure time to reading on religious subjects. I had an impression on my mind from my childhood that I should be a preacher. While thus employed I engaged as a teacher in an African Sunday-school in Elizabeth-street near Bleecker, and was appointed a class-leader in what was called Bowery Village Church—now Seventh-street. It was my custom, after having been elected superintendent of the school, to give the scholars, most of whom were adults and professors of religion, an address on some religious subject, and thus I acquired a habit of speaking publicly on religious subjects.

On the evening of Sunday, 17th of February, 1833, I preached in that house to a very crowded congregation, it having been previously announced that Mr. Floy, the superintendent of the school, would preach. I had no license or authority at that time. . . . My text on that occasion was Exodus xiv, 15, and I had great liberty. If I remember rightly most of the teachers were there, and my father and brother Michael in the back part of the house, completely out of my sight. A few weeks after this I tried again in the old Church in Forsyth-street, by request of

Rev. D. Ostrander, then in charge. I had a most lamentable time, and felt most exceedingly mortified at what I deemed an utter failure. I resolved never to try again, gathering assuredly that God had not called me to the ministry. My impressions seemed to deepen, however, that I ought to preach, and after going through the degrees of exhorter and local preacher, and filling as I could appointments at the Alms-house, Bridewell, Penitentiary, House of Refuge, etc., I was received on trial by the New York Conference in May, 1835, and was appointed to Riverhead, a little station on the eastern end of Long Island.

Of this initial period of his ministry he writes:

My labors here were heavy, having but a small stock of sermons when I commenced, and being obliged to preach to the same congregation two, and often three, sermons on the Sabbath. There was very little visible fruit of my efforts.

My second year I spent on the Hempstead Circuit, with J. Law in charge. It was a very prosperous year, and a great many were converted. My third year, having been ordained deacon, I was appointed to the Harlem Mission with D. De Vinne in charge. . . . This year, in company with P. R. Brown and C. K. True, I went to the antislavery convention at Utica. Some account of the consequences to me resulting from this step may be seen in my Scrap-book.

At the time Mr. Floy entered the Methodist ministry the subject of abolitionism was in its early stages of violent agitation. The American Antislavery Society had been organized a short time before, and its conflict with the then all-prevalent conservatism, in both Church and State, was already begun. The New York Conference, then led by men whose names have passed into the history of the Church among those of its great lights, was strong, not to say violent, in its opposition to the new movement. The subject was discussed in a style and temper rather unedifying, both publicly and privately, by word and through the press. In Methodist circles the feeling and expression was nearly all on one side, and a Methodist abolitionist was looked upon as a monstrosity not to be tolerated. Previous to the General Conference of 1836 no case had occurred of disciplinary proceedings against any member of that conference for abolition opinions or practices. It was perhaps deemed inexpedient to do so in the absence of any law or precedent upon which such proceedings could be based. But the General Conference of 1836 supplied this deficiency. In its pastoral address, after earnestly deprecating the evil

influences of "abolitionism," it added this injunction, advice, or expression of opinion:

From every view of the subject which we have been able to take, and from the most calm and dispassionate view of the whole ground, we have come to the solemn conviction that the only safe, scriptural, and prudent way for us, both as ministers and people, to take, is wholly to refrain from this agitating subject, which is now convulsing the country, and consequently the Church, from end to end, by calling forth inflammatory speeches, papers and pamphlets.

The New York Conference of 1836 met soon after the rising of the General Conference, and on the first day of the session a committee of five was appointed to "strike out a course proper to be pursued by the members of this conference on the subject of abolition." The committee\* reported next day three resolutions—the first declaring "that this conference fully concur in the advice of the late General Conference as expressed in their pastoral address," relative to abolition. The second "disapproved of the members of this conference patronizing, or in any way giving countenance to a paper called 'Zion's Watchman.'" The third says: "That although we could not condemn any man, or withhold our suffrages from him on account of his *opinions* merely in reference to the subject of abolitionism, yet we are decidedly of the opinion that none ought to be elected to the office of a deacon or elder in our Church unless he will give a pledge to the conference that he will refrain from agitating the Church with discussions on this subject."

This action was taken by the Conference not in relation to any case or cases that had come before it, but by way of defining its position, and giving notice in advance of what would be its action in the event of such "agitating discussions" by any of its members. It must be observed in passing that nowhere is the sense and scope of the word "abolition" defined, but it is well known to have included any and all opposition to slavery, whether economical, political, or moral. The inhibited "agitating discussions" are known to have included only those *against* slavery, for the same men who so strenuously opposed "agitations" were vehement in their denunciations, both public and private, of abolition and aboli-

\* D. Ostrander, N. Bangs, P. P. Sandford, L. Pease, and J. C. Green.

tionists. It does not appear that the minority made any opposition at that conference.

Of the action of the conference for 1837 we find this minute: "James Floy admitted and ordained to deacon's orders;" and as this was done the first year after the foregoing action, it may be presumed that he accepted ordination under the required "pledge," either explicitly or implicitly given; and as it is known that the test was sometimes formally applied, there is good reason to believe that it was so in this case.

At this session the conference resolved, "That in view of the sentiments expressed by the General Conference on the subject of abolitionism, as well as from a conviction of duty, it is inexpedient for the members of this conference to indulge in public discussions of this agitating subject, and that therefore we pledge ourselves to refrain from all such discussions. That we still adhere to the resolution adopted by this conference last year in respect to patronizing 'Zion's Watchman.'" At this session, also, Charles K. True was called to account and rather severely treated for "certain communications in 'Zion's Watchman,' and for reading an address on the subject of abolition to his congregation at Middletown, Conn."

The New York Conference for 1838 met in Greene-street Methodist Episcopal Church. In the Journal, under the question, "Who are the Deacons?" we find the following: "James Floy. His presiding elder stated that it was reported that Brother Floy had been guilty of contumacy and insubordination in contravening the known and published will of this and the General Conference in forwarding and abetting the doings of an unauthorized convention of Methodists and Methodist ministers." His case was referred to a committee of seven.\*

In due time the committee on the case of J. Floy reported, but the character of the report we know only by common fame, and by inferences from the recorded action of the conference. The report is referred to in the Journal

\* P. P. Sandford, S. Merwin, E. Woolsey, A. Hunt, E. Washburn, J. B. Stratton, J. C. Green. During the conference similar complaints were made against several others, namely: J. M. Pease, C. K. True, P. R. Brown, D. De Vinne, D. Plumb, H. Husted, and J. F. Huber; the last a local preacher, candidate for ordination. All of them (except D. De Vinne, who was allowed to pass without trial, as no overt act was alleged against him) were referred to the same committee, and acted on by them.

in the usual form: "See document I;" but unluckily (or perhaps luckily) the entire bundle of conference documents for that year has mysteriously disappeared from the archives. Its purport appears to have been an indictment for "contumacy and insubordination," in attending a certain abolition convention at Utica, New York, with a recommendation that therefore he be suspended from the office of a deacon during the pleasure of the conference. Mr. Floy objected to the finding of the committee, and demanded to be heard by the Conference. The Journal proceeds: "The chairman of the committee, Rev. P. P. Sandford, proceeded to present the case. He produced various documents setting forth the character of the several antislavery conventions which originated the convention at Utica, a participation in the doings of which furnishes the ground of charge against Brother Floy; also the doings of the said convention at Utica as published in '*Zion's Watchman*,' and the character of the paper selected by said convention for the publication of its doings;" and at the end of this extract adds, "See minutes taken by the secretary [of the committee probably] and on file, marked document K;" but "document K" is not "on file." The Journal adds further: "The chairman then stated that the convention, in view of its origin; in having adopted '*Zion's Watchman*' as its official organ; in having assumed to itself the right of managing the affairs of the Methodist Episcopal Church in relation to slavery; in appointing delegates to the British Canada Conference of Wesleyan Methodists to represent the position the Methodist Episcopal Church sustained to slavery; and in making provision for the call of another convention, had proved itself, in the estimation of the committee, schismatic and revolutionary in its character, and involved those itinerant ministers who had participated in its doings in the guilt of contumacy and insubordination, and that Brother Floy had thus participated. The prosecution here rested."

The defense was conducted by the accused in person. Of the substance of his defense the Journal gives no account. From other sources we learn that it occupied about three hours, and was conceded on all hands to be able. Its tone was calm and conciliatory, and with evident purpose to avert the threatened penalty. It was eminently loyal to the Church



though to the last faithful to the cause of antislavery. The picture of himself as he was about to go out from the conference shorn of his ministerial character, a disgraced man and minister, before the Church and the world, was at once pathetic and noble, and drew tears from the eyes of those who were already predetermined to accomplish the deprecated work.

The conference now proceeded to its final action in the case. It was moved and seconded that the conference concur in the decision of the committee to the guilt of James Floy; and the question was carried by a rising vote, one hundred and twenty-four against seventeen.\* The question on the adoption of the resolution in the report [of the committee] was then put and carried by a rising vote of one hundred and two against thirty-one. That resolution was in these words:

*Resolved*, That James Floy, being guilty of contumacy and insubordination, be suspended from the exercise of the peculiar functions of a deacon in the Church of God until he shall give satisfaction to the conference.

This action of the conference was complete in itself, and by it the accused was suspended from his ordination as deacon. After this he asked and obtained leave "to make such extracts from the Journals in reference to his case as he desired," and on the Journals a little further along we find the following:

A communication from Brother Floy was received as follows: "Without making any remarks upon the proceedings of this conference in my case, I pledge myself honorably to abide by and faithfully to carry out, so far as in me lies, the resolutions and requirements of this conference so long as I continue a member thereof." Carried by a rising vote of one hundred and twenty-seven to one.

What it was that was "carried" we can only infer from the connection; probably a motion to accept the pledge as satisfactory, and removing the suspension. Just as the conference was about to adjourn,

It was, on motion, resolved, That in the judgment of this conference it is incompatible with the duty which its members owe to the Church as its ministers for them to be engaged in attending antislavery conventions, delivering abolition lectures, or forming

\* We have been at some pains to ascertain the names of these seventeen, with only partial success. Among them were D. De Vinne, C. K. True, S. Landon, P. R. Brown, H. Husted, C. Foss, D. Plumb, C. W. Turner, E. E. Griswold. Probably among them were J. M. Pease, H. Humphreys, T. Bainbridge, and H. Brown.



antislavery societies in or out of the Church, or in any way agitating the subject so as to disturb the peace and harmony of the Church, and that they be, and hereby are, affectionately advised and admonished to refrain from all these things.

With this action closed the memorable session of the New York Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, held in Greene-street Church, May, 1838. Its members went out to their several places, each with his own reflections, and all bearing with them thoughts and impressions that were to produce their results in after times. Mr. Floy was returned for a second year to the Harlem Mission.

The reflections raised by this narration of facts are painful and perplexing. The men that appear upon the stage are the same that every loyal Methodist of the last half century has learned to love and reverence. Could we separate their acts from the actors, and estimate them only as they seem to deserve, we should write hard things respecting them. But this cannot be done. The perpetrators of these things, which seem to us so iniquitous, were great and good men—men of clear intellects and warm hearts, who had made, and were constantly making, large sacrifices and performing great labors for the cause of religion. They were our fathers in the Gospel, and our exemplars in the Methodist ministry. Still their conduct in these cases cannot be excused, but only palliated. Were these only private and personal affairs we would make haste to imitate the conduct of the sons of Noah, and hide our fathers' shame with the covering of oblivion. But these things were not done in a corner. They were public acts, and parts of a great drama acted before the world, and therefore amenable to the public judgment. The revenges of time, so slow and yet so sure, are already overtaking them. "Blindness had indeed in part happened to Israel;" but let the present take warning from the past, lest we be as unjust in our criticisms as they were in their determinations.

Individual actions and characters cannot be justly estimated independent of their times and circumstances, and so to judge rightly of the acts of those men, their times, and the state of things about them, must be considered. The history of American public sentiment respecting slavery is full of painful instruction. The old antislaveryism of the revolutionary

period began sensibly to decline during the second decade of our century. The first step forward of pro-slaveryism politically was the passage of the Missouri Compromise in 1820. But before that time, and as an occasion making that act possible, there had been a manifest abatement of antislavery utterances in political discussions by the Church and in literature. The same tendencies continued with accelerated force during the next ten years, and in 1830 the prevailing public sentiment of the people of this country was only theoretically against slavery, but earnestly against any decided practical action in opposition to that system. The institution had become a large element of public wealth, which uniformly asks to be let alone. It had also grown into a political power, and therefore commanded public respect and consideration. In the slave states it had grown into the soul and substance of the Churches, and the Christianity of those states had lifted its ban from the peculiar institution. And as the great religious denominations were national in their organization, the pro-slaveryism of southern Christianity might not be inconsiderately condemned at the North. This influence was powerfully effective upon the Methodist Episcopal Church, which was especially strong in the South, both in the number of its adherents and in their having wealth and social position. With a pardonable denominational pride, the Methodists of the free states, made up as they were from the poor and middle classes, remembered that in the South their denomination embraced a large portion of the wealthy and learned. A tenderness toward slavery, and an indisposition to denounce it, or in any way to meddle with it, stealthily, but rather rapidly, came to be the prevailing sentiment of the ruling minds in the Church. The bishops and other leading ministers from the North had traveled southward, and enjoyed the hospitality of their southern brethren, with which they were very generally entirely captivated. It thus had become a case of denominational policy to avoid all earnest actions or expressions against slavery, and, as far as might be, to apologize for the practice of slaveholding by Church members.

Such was the course things were taking in the nation generally, and more particularly in the Methodist Episcopal Church, when the word *abolition* began to be spoken again after its disuse for a quarter of a century. The stream of public feel-

ing had long flowed smoothly and rapidly in favor of slavery, and this was as a great rock thrown into the current. Of course agitations ensued; it could not be otherwise. The merchants knew that it was by this craft they had their wealth, and they most certainly would oppose all attempts to interfere with their gains. Northern politicians could not afford to lose their southern allies, and so both political parties were bound to satisfy the demands of their southern associates respecting their own specialty. The great ecclesiastical bodies, vitally present both in the South and the North, and sensitively alive not only to feel all overt actions, but also any opinions anywhere expressed against slavery, were thrilled with horror at the idea of attacking slavery as sinful, and putting it under the ban of religion. This new, or rather renewed, manifesto against slavery was accordingly responded to by a fierce and earnest protest from all these parties, and the aspect of things promised no easy conquest to the new crusaders. It is generally believed that these original abolitionists were not themselves the most discreet of men; that they rushed headlong into the conflict, and needlessly irritated when they should have conciliated; that, indeed, they were rather reckless revolutionists than sober reformers. It would be very natural to presume that this was so, as such has often been the case in similar circumstances. But the direct evidence that such were the facts is not altogether satisfactory, though their story has been told us by their opponents.

At that time the denominational unity of Methodism was much more intimate than it has since become, and of that unity New York city was then, much more than now, the heart and center. New York Methodism was then at least metropolitan, not to say imperial. It controlled the denominational press, which it has long since ceased to do, and to a very large degree it directed the opinions and doings of the denomination. The New York Conference at that time contained a very large share of men whose names have become historical in the annals of American Methodism. But, as is often the case, this dictator of public opinion was itself very largely subject to outside influences, and was least of all independent in its decisions and preferences. Left to their individual determinations, very probably nearly every one of those leading men would have

condemned slavery as decidedly, if not as fiercely, as did any one of their abolition opponents. But their position did not allow them to act out their own individual convictions and feelings. They concluded that great denominational interests were involved in the issue which they were bound to protect; that abstract right was not the rule to be pursued, but what seemed best in view of all the circumstances. If in this they erred, they had very many and very great precedents for what they did. That principle, which has ruled so largely amid human councils, was succinctly announced by a Jewish high priest on a most memorable occasion, when, waiving the question of the guilt or innocence of the intended victim, he declared that it was "expedient that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not." The question of the abstract right or wrong of slavery must be kept in abeyance that the Church might not be agitated, and, perhaps, torn asunder by its discussion. Better suffer the present evil of slavery, and wait till God shall open some way of escape from it, than to sacrifice the peace and the unity of the Methodist Episcopal Church. So they reasoned, and so they acted. We may mourn over their mistakes, but let us not judge them severely.

That the whole action was wrong is now very manifest; and by all the parties to the sad transactions, probably, it was felt to be so. The whole aspect of the conference during the proceedings is described by an eyewitness as *funereal*. Ministers of hitherto unblemished reputations, and some of them of conspicuous positions, were arraigned and tried before their peers for acts which not even their accusers accounted immoral, and suspended from the ministry for doing what very many believed was nearer right than wrong. Mr. Floy's defense, by its ability, calmness, and yet evident sadness, operated powerfully upon all present, and it became the salient point of his subsequent reputation and influence. His antagonists had achieved a victory; but it was only less disastrous, if at all so, than a defeat. It was certainly the epoch from which the influence of the chief actors in the business steadily and rapidly declined; and not many years afterward the conference acquitted itself of the whole business. Mr. Floy faithfully kept the pledge made to

the conference till that body itself came over to his ground, though all the time he was known and recognized as a confessed abolitionist. But it is quite certain that he wore it as a fetter upon his soul, a badge of his own enslavement, and a memento of a great wrong done to him. The sore it gave him was in time healed, but the scar was always tender, and when touched, in later life, it seldom failed to arouse him to such spirited onslaughts upon the old enemy, as suggested to those who witnessed them the suspicion that there was yet a sore spot where the fetters had chafed him. A sense of wrong and degradation, self-inflicted under unjust pressure, is a gangrene in the soul that will not be cured; and if this was his case he had ample opportunities to abundantly revenge himself—and they were not unimproved.

Of this year's ministry he writes:

My fourth year was on the same ground, [Harlem Mission,] with John Tackaberry in charge. . . . There was a revival in Rose Hill [Twenty-seventh-street] and in Forty-first-street, and many were added to the Lord. This year I preached several sermons for A. S. Francis in Bedford-street, and at the conference held in May, 1839, I was arraigned for preaching abolition. . . . I stated to the conference that I had the sermon referred to in my pocket, and would read it if requested. . . . The conference dropped the matter without much discussion.

The sermon, which is among his papers, is a plain and earnest exposition and application of John viii, 36, and very clearly evinces his intense hatred of slavery, and also, by its reserves, his carefulness to avoid further complications with the conference. The fact that it was made the occasion of a complaint, shows the morbid sensitiveness of the public mind on that subject.

At this conference Mr. Floy was ordained an elder.

His next appointment was to Kortright Circuit, in Delaware District, as preacher in charge. He immediately repaired to his appointment, made one round of his circuit, and then repaired to New York for his family. But such was the indisposition of his wife, that her physician (Dr. D. M. Reese) forbade her removal. In consequence of this he was released from his appointment, when, being unemployed as a minister, he returned to his old employment at the Book Room. A vacancy having occurred at the Washington-street Church in



Brooklyn, he filled that pulpit, by agreement of all parties, though unofficially, for the balance of the year. At the ensuing conference his character was passed without opposition, and he was formally appointed to Washington-street Church, Brooklyn, where he continued till the conference for 1842. At the close of these two years he thankfully recorded his gratitude to God for the success that had been granted him in his ministry at that Church. The names of some of those received by him into Church fellowship are also given; and when, six years later, the writer of these pages came into the same appointment, many of them were among the able and excellent of the Church. The name of their former pastor was always mentioned by the people of that Church with both reverence and affection.

At the conference of 1842 Mr. Floy acted as assistant secretary. A few years later he became the secretary of the conference, and either in that office or as assistant, he kept the conference Journals for fourteen years. It is neither exaggeration nor injustice to say that those Journals are models of such records, and of a degree of excellence seldom equaled. From this conference he was appointed to Danbury, Conn., where he continued two years. At the close of the first year he wrote:

In reviewing the year past I find much cause for thankfulness. We held a protracted meeting in the fall, at which a number were converted; but the work was not so general nor extensive as I hoped it would be. In the winter a young man, Chittenden by name, visited the place, and obtained permission to occupy the Church for the purpose of lecturing on the subject of the second advent, Millerism, as it is called. Immense crowds flocked to hear him. I know none who imbibed his peculiarity on that subject, or who were converted through his instrumentality; but the minds of the people seemed awake to religious subjects, and we held immediately after he left another protracted meeting which resulted more favorably than the former. . . . Our net increase during the year is about eighty, most of the additions being young men.

The two years of Mr. Floy's service at Danbury constituted the transition period in the history of Methodism in that place. A few years later, during the pastoral term of Rev. W. C. Hoyt, a new and commodious house of worship was erected, and from that time Danbury has been reckoned among the first-class appointments in the conference.



The session of the New York Conference for 1844 was held at Sands-street Church, Brooklyn. Bishop Hedding presided, and Mr. Floy was then first made chief secretary. This session took place immediately after the close of the General Conference which had passed the famous "Plan of Separation," which now came up at this conference for approval. Mr. Floy was among the small minority that opposed it. As usual, he was before his times; but not very far ahead just then, for only three years later his conference elected him a delegate to the General Conference on that very issue. At the close of that conference he was sent to Madison-street Church, New York city, where he remained two years. His services at that Church were very highly appreciated; they were also highly successful in consolidating a new congregation, and to a moderate extent in the conversion of souls. Many marked indications of the high estimation in which he was held were given him.

The conference for 1846 met at Seventh-street Church, New York. Of it he wrote:

Annual conference commenced on the 13th of May. *It was memorable for the defeat of the Old Hunkers.* I am astonished at the love shown me by my people at Madison-street, and the sincere regret with which we part.

His next appointment was to Middletown, Conn., to which he seems to have gone without any high expectations. At the conference of 1847, held in Allen-street Church, New York, the delegates to the General Conference to be held in Pittsburgh in May, 1848, were chosen. The Church was at that time much agitated respecting the course to be pursued relative to the division of the Church, as provided for by the former General Conference, and afterward carried out by the secession of the Southern conferences. The "Christian Advocate," under the conduct of Dr. Bond, had taken strong ground against the division, and demanded the abrogation of the Plan of Separation. On this issue the election of delegates was made, by which some of the prescriptive leaders of the body were left out, and a number of new men chosen. Of these was Mr. Floy, who was elected on the first ballot by a decided majority. He attended the General Conference of 1848, of which he was a diligent and effective, rather than a showy member. From his own memoranda we extract these two sentences:

On my motion a committee was appointed to consider the propriety of revising the hymn book, the report of which committee was written by me, and I am appointed one of the seven to whom this duty is assigned. As a member and secretary of the Committee on the Book Concern I was very much confined during the session of the conference.

The "Book Committee," that important feature in the government of our publishing interests, was reconstructed at this General Conference, and put in the form in which it now stands, on motion of Mr. Floy, who, however, had received the first suggestions of it from a fellow-delegate.

From the New York Conference of 1848 Mr. Floy was sent to the First Methodist Episcopal Church at New Haven. The conference having been divided by the late General Conference, the separation to take place at the close of this session of the New York Conference, he became a member of the New York East Conference. At the commencement of the Wesleyan University for that year he received, without solicitation, the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity. Respecting his two years at New Haven, he remarks in his diary:

Much of my time during the year past [the former of the two] has been devoted to the preparation of a new hymn book for our Church. Myself and R. A. West were the sub-committee to whom the work was referred. The far greater part I did myself. Nearly all the additions were selected by me. It has passed the examination of the editors, Book Committee, and bishops, and is now printing under my supervision. On this business I made many visits to New York and one to Baltimore.

The conference for this year (1850) met at First Church, New Haven. The last year has been one of great sickness and death. My wife has been confined mostly to her bed, and with difficulty is removed to our new home, 83 Madison-street, New York, to which charge I am reappointed. There is very little cause of rejoicing at the success of Methodism in this City of Elms during the past year. Our congregations on the Sabbath have been large and attentive. Prayer-meetings and class-meeting too much neglected, and few if any conversions. The fault is in me I doubt not. I am ashamed of myself. Have mercy upon me, O God!

At the close of his second term of two years at the Madison-street Church he writes: "There have been some twenty-five or thirty conversions during the year, (and about as many last year,) and the Church is in a good state."

The following entry is also found under date of November

2, 1850, but evidently written some weeks later. It is a reminiscence of an affair that caused some little agitation at the time, and most painfully exhibited the abject subjection of a portion of the Methodists of New York to the Moloch of slavery.

At the preachers' meeting this morning W. C. Hoyt read an Essay on Slavery. G. Brown offered a resolution to send it to the Richmond Christian Advocate for publication. Motion to amend by striking out the word "Richmond." As a substitute I offered a resolution expressing abhorrence of the requirements of the Fugitive Slave Bill, passed at the last session of Congress. Discussed till we adjourned. Next Saturday (9th) a preamble and resolution were offered (by D. W. Clark) and adopted without a dissenting voice. They found their way into the columns of the Evening Post, and have made quite a buzz. Allen-street has had a meeting of lay members, adopting resolutions in opposition. The First Church in Williamsburgh followed; the First Church in New Haven; Mulberry-street, New York; Vestry-street, Forsyth-street, on the 22d December, (present twenty-seven persons, of whom nine voted against;) John-street; but here the ball was stopped, a majority present voting against the resolutions presented.

At the election of delegates to the General Conference of 1852 Dr. Floy failed to be chosen, lacking, however, only a few votes of a majority. The strong pro-slavery reaction of the period so largely affected the conference that so decided an abolitionist could not command their suffrages. It was, however, only a transient withdrawal of confidence, which was very soon returned with increased earnestness of devotion. From the conference of 1852 he was sent to the Twenty-Seventh-street Church, New York, where he continued two years, laboring diligently and with a good degree of success. Of all the ministers who have had the privilege of serving that excellent Church and congregation, none are remembered more gratefully or named more reverently than Dr. Floy.

In 1854 he was appointed presiding elder of New York District, New York East Conference, which office he filled for two years. He was a delegate to the General Conference of 1856, held at Indianapolis. Of the proceedings of this body his diary contains no record. By that body he was elected Editor of the National Magazine, and Corresponding Secretary of the Tract Society, in which office he was occupied during the ensuing four years. In 1860 he was a delegate to the Gen-

eral Conference at Buffalo, and aided in placing the Discipline of the Church upon the broad antislavery basis that it now has. At its close he returned to the regular pastoral work, and while without an appointment between the session of the General Conference of 1860 and the New York East Conference of 1861, he occupied his time in preparing a series of Sunday-school Question Books. In 1861 he was appointed to Seventh-street, New York, and in 1863 to Beekman Hill, (Fiftieth-street,) New York. Here, on the 14th day of October, 1863, in his fifty-eighth year, he ceased at once to work and live.

From this sketch of the itinerant life of Dr. Floy, which it was thought best to present in a continuous narrative, we now pass to more general remarks and reflections. We have first to notice the influences under which he devoted himself to the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church. To such a one as he was at that time the world presented strong inducements and large promises of success in either professional or business life. Or if the ministry was to be chosen other denominations, and especially that one which was properly his hereditary Church, the Episcopalian, offered much greater worldly inducements. His own account of the case, however, shows that in choosing the ministerial calling, and that too in the Methodist Episcopal Church, he was actuated by a controlling conscientiousness. He became a Methodist itinerant minister because he believed God called him to that work, and he dared not "reason with flesh and blood," and, therefore, he "was not disobedient to the heavenly vision." This fidelity to his convictions was characteristic of the man, and it became in his after life the occasion of both his troubles and his successes. It also distinguished his religious character and life, the former of which was eminently free from hypocrisy, and the latter from cant. His religion was much more matter of conviction than of sentiment, and though often deeply emotional, yet he habitually suppressed and concealed his religious feelings, while he steadily pursued the way of duty. That he carried this excellence too far may be suspected; and his manner in that thing, though it commands our admiration, cannot be commended as best. The tendencies of the times are doubtless to too much reserve in religious profession; and Dr. Floy both yielded to

that influence himself, and by his example gave it more authority.

Next to his rigid conscientiousness, the peculiar form of his intellect gave fashion to his mind and course of life. The natural characteristics of his intellect were manliness, vigor, and activity. He confronted the truth bravely, and grappled with it vigorously, and from the intuitive unrest of the soul within him he was impelled forward in intellectual activities. Incidental advantages came in to second and forward these natural tendencies. Both his home education and his early school discipline concurred with the native cast of his mind, and intensified its original impulses. His grammar-school training, under the immediate tuition of Prof. Anthon, who was then earning the reputation which now places his name so conspicuously forward among the classical scholars of the age, may be considered the one great fact that fixed his mental status, and so determined his intellectual character. That gave him the peculiar culture that ever distinguished all the productions of his mind. Though a man of extensive knowledge, he was educated rather than learned—more distinguished for a scholarly culture than for a cyclopedian range of information. Hence he became by necessity a critic. The whole domain of the æsthetic was his playground, in which his tastes, whether discriminative or appreciative, found full room for action. The meretricious, the tawdry, the incongruous, were detected with the clearness of sunlight, and condemned with a corresponding decisiveness; while those excellencies which only a cultivated taste can recognize were as surely seen and duly appreciated. Of all our faculties, taste is perhaps the most peremptory and exacting. It never stops to argue, and admits of no questioning of its decisions. Its approvals are quiet, and often little more than silent acceptances; while its condemnations, though equally quiet, are often terribly withering because of that very self-possession. The practice of criticism is often bitterly denounced by those who dread its searching power, but in literature especially it is of inestimable value. It is a noble profession—a liberal and liberalizing art.

With a mind so constituted and furnished, Dr. Floy became a writer by a kind of necessity. There were thoughts in his mind that sought for utterance, and he possessed in a large



degree the powers needful for their expression ; while the Methodist denominational press, then rising into a power in the Church and the world, offered opportunities for their promulgation. Those facts no doubt determined his position as a literary man. He was a writer for the periodical press rather than an author of books.

As a writer, Dr. Floy is best known by his contributions to the pages of this Review, extending over a period of nearly a quarter of a century. In the number for April, 1838—a date just before his arraignment and suspension from the diaconate by the New York Conference for being present at an antislavery meeting—is found an essay from his pen, entitled “The Judgment Register,” which, though his first effort in so wide a field, demonstrates his mastery of the art of essay writing at that period. It has indeed all the peculiarities for which he afterward became renowned—a thorough mastery of his theme, clearness and comprehensiveness of views, and the facility of utterance, in pure, simple, and not inelegant English, which induced a competent judge in such matters to declare that he never wrote a sentence of bad English in his lifetime. A few years later, when the Quarterly, under the editorship of Dr. Peck, had assumed an advanced position among the first of its class, a review of Dr. Porter’s “Lectures on Homiletics and Preaching”—which was, however, rather an elaborate essay on that subject—appeared in its pages, and attracted much attention. It appeared anonymously, and, of course, was judged of without favor or prejudice from its authorship, and he had the satisfaction of having it warmly commended by those whose approval he most valued, and also some who might have been more chary of their praises had its authorship been known.

From that time Dr. Floy’s articles became a distinguishing feature of the Methodist Quarterly, and they, quite as largely as those of any other writer, contributed to the standing to which it has attained. Their subjects are various; and while each is marked by its own individuality, they all bear unmistakable marks of their common origin.

As an essayist and reviewer, Dr. Floy was always conscientious and faithful to his own convictions of right. On doctrinal points he uniformly maintained his own opinions, which were highly orthodox and evangelical, in opposition to the evi-



dent tendencies of the great mass of the educated minds of the age. His convictions as to human rights and the sin and wrong of oppression, not only cropped out occasionally in his writings, but were prominently brought out with all clearness and energy of utterance. And yet he delighted in the beautiful—the quiet pleasures of a cultivated taste—and some of his best pieces are chiefly exercises in literary æsthetics.

Probably no other department of Church-work was more highly valued by Dr. Floy than that of the department of Sabbath-schools. His career as a religious instructor began in the Sabbath-school, and the last labor he performed—on the day of his decease—was to add a chapter to a Sabbath-school instruction book that he was preparing. Among his literary remains are found lectures, sermons, and addresses in behalf of the cause; and of the few books that bear his name on their title-page, nearly all are for the use of Sabbath-schools. His friends, with good cause, regret that he never devoted himself to authorship, being quite certain that he would not have failed of eminent success, and so would have made the world his perpetual debtor. As an instance of the versatility of his genius, he a few years since, by way of testing his powers, set himself to write a story book for boys, and the result was one of the most popular of the juveniles published at the Methodist Book Room, "Harry Budd." But having satisfied himself of his ability so to write, he made no further efforts in that direction.

Dr. Floy's great literary work, which is indeed his best monument, is the hymn book of the Methodist Episcopal Church, now in use. His attention was early directed to the subject of hymnology, and among the oldest of his literary remains are a variety of slips from newspapers, evidently written by himself, containing notes and queries respecting certain hymns, with criticisms on their composition. In the Methodist Quarterly for April, 1844, appeared a long and elaborate article from his pen on the Methodist Hymn Book, with disquisitions on modern hymnology generally, and Methodist hymns in particular. This led to further discussions of the subject in the Church papers by himself and others, and a very considerable interest was awakened on the subject. It was very generally conceded that the hymn book then in use ought to be thoroughly revised, and its contents enriched from

exterior sources. Still it seemed to be a formidable undertaking to replace by another, however excellent, a manual of devotion not only in the hands, but to a large extent in the hearts also, of more than a million worshipers. The Methodists too, as a people, make much of the hymn book. With them it largely occupies the place of the prayer-book with Episcopalians, and the catechism with Presbyterians. The doctrinal teachings of their hymns are scarcely less authoritative than those of the Bible; their warnings and exhortations are as effective as those of the pulpit; and to a mind capable of appreciating their practical adaptation to Christian culture the high estimate set upon those hymns must be amply justified. Still it was not to be denied that while the old hymn book contained a great amount of excellent devotional poetry, it was defective both in matter and arrangement, and not altogether without inaccuracies and improprieties of language and style. The asked-for revision was therefore very generally conceded as necessary.

At the General Conference of 1848 Dr. Floy called the attention of that body to the subject by asking for a committee to consider the question of the revision of the hymn book. The General Conference favored the motion, and the mover was placed on the committee, and afterward also on the committee appointed to do the designated work.\* His associates were from among the ablest and most cultivated, whether of the ministry or laity, of the Church. On account of the residence

\* The committee were Rev. D. Daily, of Philadelphia; Rev. J. B. Alverson, of Rochester; Rev. D. Patten, of Providence; Rev. F. Merrick, of Ohio; Rev. J. Floy, of New York; Mr. D. Creamer, of Baltimore; and Mr. R. A. West, of Brooklyn. The first two of these, though not classically educated, were both of them men of taste and culture, who had devoted much attention to sacred poetry. Of the former Dr. Floy wrote: "He was a faithful member of the committee—suggested several alterations which were adopted, and wrote verses which are among my papers." Of the latter: "He took much interest in the work." Messrs. Patten and Merrick were both classical scholars, and by their tastes and reading especially adapted to the work. Mr. Creamer had made Methodist Hymnology the study of his lifetime, and he has probably the most nearly complete collection of Wesleyan poetry in existence, of the spirit of which he has himself drunk deeply. Mr. West is the son of an honored Wesleyan minister, and brother to an ex-president of the British Conference, and a foster-son of Kingswood School. In addition to these accidental advantages, he possessed a fine poetical taste and a large acquaintance with the later poetry of Methodism. Two of the hymns in the new hymn book are from his pen.

of the committee in distant and diverse places, it was found necessary to devolve the work chiefly upon the two residing at and near New York, Messrs. Floy and West. And as Mr. West was very fully occupied with other duties, the work was actually performed by Dr. Floy, not, however, without valuable assistance from his associates.

The duty assigned to the committee by the General Conference was to *revise* the old hymn book, but they proceeded in fact to make a new one. The plan of arrangement was entirely recast, and the matter of the old book thrown into the common stock of available material. The whole range of sacred poetry in the language was laid under contribution, and whatever was deemed of sufficient excellence and adapted to the design was freely used. And yet the new book is, scarcely less than its predecessor, of Wesleyan paternity. Of its eleven hundred and forty-eight hymns, more than half (six hundred and four) are by the Wesleys. Watts, the next largest contributor, has seventy-two, many of which have been largely Wesleyanized. Montgomery gives fifty-seven; Steele thirty; Doddridge twenty-three; Newton fourteen; Cowper thirteen; and Heber and Hart each ten. One hundred and twenty-six others contribute each from nine to one; and thirty hymns are of unascertained authorship.\*

To make a hymn book is something more than the selection and arrangement of a given amount of sacred poetry in a volume. A hymn book editor may be less than a poet in metrical compositions; but he must also be something more than a poet. His range for action is necessarily a cramped and narrow one. His pieces must be short—four lines will suffice as a minimum, and eight times that number should be accounted the maximum, and that seldom to be reached. Each hymn must be at once a unit and complete in itself. The language of these sacred songs should be always plain and easily understood, yet pure, chaste, and somewhat elevated. Their doctrinal statements should be direct, but never polemical, avoiding all intricacies and obscurities; they must nevertheless discriminate accurately, and everywhere preserve the “analogy of faith.”

\* In the list of authors of hymns given in the table of contents we have detected but one mistake. Hymn 751 is credited to *Walter Scott*. It was written before he was born by *John Scott*, the Quaker poet of Amwell, England. Other annotators have fallen into the same error.

A hymn is more than a sacred lyric; it is a form of worship; the expression not of some special and unusual exercise of the soul, but the common aspirations of the great congregation. Its religious tone should be higher than the ordinary level of Christian experience, that those using it may be elevated by it, yet not so far removed as to fail of proper sympathy with the hearts of the worshipers. To adjust all these things requires rare qualifications of both heart and mind; only an experienced Christian and a ripe scholar, in a single individual, should engage in such a work. It is evident that in this case the work produced, both in its excellencies and its defects, bears the impress alike of the mind and the heart of its chief compiler.

In this work Dr. Floy's critical acumen was largely called into exercise. Many of the most celebrated sacred poets have not been remarkable for the accuracy of their language nor the faultlessness of their prosody, and the compilers of hymn books have universally claimed the right to correct and improve their compositions. Of this practice John Wesley was an eminent example as to both the freedom and the excellence of his emendations; but he strongly protested against any such liberty being taken with his own or his brother's hymns. But the protest has been little heeded; sometimes for the worse, often for the better. He himself very freely corrected his brother's poetry, not only in its form but also in its substance, seeking to free it of the mysticisms with which the writer impregnated much of it, and especially to expunge from it certain exceptional doctrinal notions into which his brother at one time fell. Our compilers have carried this work still further, and some otherwise valuable hymns have been wholly omitted on that account. The productions of others were treated with like freedom, and as the result, not only is the Church enriched in her hymnology, but many bardlings, dead or living, have been brought into debt to their critical emendators. And yet there may be great danger that a severe but unpoetical taste will sacrifice genuine inspiration at the demands of grammatical and rhetorical correctness. Probably at this point, more than at any other, Dr. Floy lacked adaptation to his work. He was not a poet, in the fullest sense of that word; and though not destitute of poetical susceptibility, yet his tastes

led him in another direction. He demanded purity and correctness, and often, no doubt, he was tempted to dash the flower because of the imperfection of the vase that contained it. Hence came the exclusion of some really good hymns, excepting only certain infelicities of verbiage; while others were emendated in their rhetoric at the expense of their poetry. And as the result, we have among our hymns a number of rhetorically faultless, but poetically lifeless so-called hymns.

Of the amount of learned labor expended upon that work, but faint notions are entertained by ordinarily intelligent persons who use it. Every piece was examined singly, and its various versions, as found in some twenty standard hymn books collated, and every stanza and line subjected to a critical adjudication, and whenever possible the original, as written by its author, was consulted. Poems of more than the allowable length were abbreviated, and in many cases rearranged, for the sake of unity and completeness; and sometimes two, three, or even more hymns were taken from a single poem. The plan of distribution was designed to present a system of theoretical and practical theology, while especial reference was had to the demands of public worship, and specifically the wants of Methodist congregations. As compared with other books of its class, that hymn book is distinguished for the purity and perspicuity of its language, the chasteness and congruity of its figures, and the faultlessness of its rhythm and rhyme. Doctrinally it is eminently evangelic, Wesleyan, Methodistical; while its renderings of the holy Scriptures and its scriptural allusions are natural, obvious, and readily intelligible. Under the hand of the revisers some of the most impassioned utterances of Charles Wesley were softened and moderated, the better to adapt them to common use, and some of his peculiar and rather erratic doctrinal notions were quietly hidden by judicious omissions or substitutions. The stores of sacred poetry written during the present century were fully drawn upon, and no inconsiderable share of these hymns are post-Wesleyan as to their composition. The new hymn book was issued during the summer of the year 1849, and in a very short time it came into almost universal use in the churches—a practical tribute to its manifest excellence.

An important feature of Dr. Floy's life and character would



be overlooked should we omit to notice his position and influence as a member of his annual conference. The constitution of those bodies, and the work committed to them, very effectively evoke and employ the gifts and characteristics of their members; and there, more than in any other place, was his power displayed. In the work of examining candidates he was almost unequalled. To the disqualified and pretentious he was a perpetual terror, while latent worth or timid excellence were surely detected, assured, and asserted by him. Nearly the whole of the junior portion of the ministers of the New York East Conference have passed through his hands as an examiner, and it may be confidently affirmed that the standard of learning and the style of thought to which they have as a body attained are in no small degree owed to that cause. But in the open deliberations of the conference was eminently the place of his power. Always in his place, and ever watchful of the proceedings, nothing that was transacted escaped his notice; and though he often voted silently, yet he uniformly had a reason for the vote he gave. As a debater he had few equals. He was not remarkable for much speaking, either as to the frequency or the length of his harangues; but his strength lay in the appositeness of his remarks, and the evidently honest zeal with which he expressed them. Men learned unconsciously to believe in him, and to act according to his directions. A recognized leader in the cause of antislaveryism in the conference, he lived to see the great body of the younger ministers arrange themselves by his side. But he was not so exclusively occupied with that subject as to lose himself in it. He was especially interested in the protection and elevation of the character of the ministry, an active promoter of the cause of denominational education, and of all the great charities and benevolent enterprises of the Church. In all these things the conference felt and acknowledged his power, and gladly accepted his leadership.

Though Dr. Floy's career in the ministry was less protracted than that of most who have earned for themselves a reputation, it was long enough to show that his renown was not derived from qualities that do not endure the tests of time and close examination. For twenty-eight successive years he performed the ministerial labor assigned to him in the order of the



Church, and always with fidelity and a good degree of success. As a preacher he was clear, direct, and earnest; in doctrine eminently evangelical, and in exhortation pungent and effective. Yet on account of the elevation of his thoughts, and the rigid correctness of his tastes, which led him to avoid all showy ornamentation or attempts at pompous eloquence, he was a preacher for the appreciative few rather than for the promiscuous multitude. But by those he was very highly valued. During the two years of his pastorate at Middletown, Dr. Olin was one of his constant hearers; and he afterward declared that of all the preachers he had ever known, he would choose Dr. Floy for a pastor for himself and his family—a judgment in which not a few can heartily concur. His death, so sudden and unexpected, brought sadness and sorrow to many who only then were made to realize how much he was endeared to them. But the circumstances of his demise were not comfortable. Quietly in his own house, and in the arms of a loved and dutiful son, without lingering sickness, emaciation, or senility—for “his eye was not dim, nor his natural strength abated”—he rendered up his spirit in the faith and hope in which he had lived. A life-course not entirely without its foibles and defects, yet as free from them as often falls to the lot of erring mortals, was accomplished; a character not faultless, but elevated far above the common walks of life, had been formed and exercised; and now, in the early postmeridian of such a life, it ceased on earth to recommence in heaven. Saved by grace!

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#### ART. VIII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

##### PROTESTANTISM.

###### GREAT BRITAIN.

**CHURCH CONGRESSES.**—Certain active and far-seeing churchmen of the High-Church party have succeeded in introducing into the Church of England a new kind of religious assemblies which bid fair to become of considerable influence in the future of the English Church. They are free gatherings, or, as they are called by the originators,

“congresses” of ministers and laymen, for the purpose of giving full expression to their opinions on matters appertaining to the development of the resources of their community, and of discussing the best means for meeting the religious wants of the age. The third of these congresses was held this year at Manchester, the two former ones having taken place at Cambridge and Oxford. While the former ones had comparatively attracted but little attention, the congress of Manchester is

looked upon by the entire press of England as an important event which will secure the annual recurrence of these assemblies, and make a mark in the History of the Church. The originators of the congress had liberally invited co-operation from men of all shades of opinion, including even the editors of thorough dissenting newspapers. Nevertheless, the assembly was in fact composed very largely of the High-Church party, the Evangelicals being seemingly afraid of mixing themselves up with the scheme, though some of them responded to the invitation to be present, and also made speeches and read papers. Though free discussion was invited and no formal vote taken, the congress has generally produced the impression that a strong High-Church current prevails at present in the Established Church, and that all the efforts of the Evangelical School to arrest it will have little effect. The principal subjects discussed by the congress were Church Extension in large towns; Supply and Training of Ministers; Lay Co-operation; Church Architecture; the Management of Large Parishes; Parochial Mission Women; Church Music; the Irish Church; Sunday-schools.

**HIGH-CHURCH TENDENCIES.**—The success of the Church congress is only one among numerous proofs that the Church of England is rapidly falling under the exclusive control of the High-Church party. Both in doctrine and organization the Church is now in the process of a transformation which if completed will belong among the most memorable events of the Church history of the nineteenth century. For want of room we can only briefly refer to some of the most important symptoms of the advance of High-Churchism. One of the favorite ideas of the High-Church party, the official recognition of the strongly Romanizing Episcopal Church of Scotland by the Church of England, has recently been carried into effect over the most determined opposition of the evangelical portion of the Church. The former bishop of the Scottish Episcopal Church at Glasgow, Dr. Trower, has been appointed to the See of Gibraltar, without being subjected to a reordination. The Scottish ordination has thus been recognized in England as valid, an important step toward effecting a closer union between the two Churches.

The Episcopal Church of Scotland, in the mean while, is indorsing the movement begun in the English Church for intercommunion with the Oriental Churches, and in particular the Russian. Several diocesan synods have passed resolutions to that end. The same scheme is warmly recommended by a paper published by ecclesiastics of the Russian Church at Paris.

It is a remarkable sign of the times, that the Scottish Episcopal Church, notwithstanding its High-Church and Romanizing character, is finding so many admirers in the (Presbyterian) Church of Scotland, that even a union between the two bodies is thought of and regarded as possible. An unexpectedly large number of young ministers of the Presbyterian Church are said to have declared in favor of this scheme.

Among the other movements of the High-Church party, the attempted restoration of monasticism in the Church of England is attracting special attention. The Bishop of Norwich has commenced proceedings against the rector of Claydon for the facilities he has given to the "monks" to officiate in his Church. But neither the rector nor "Brother Ignatius," the founder of "the Benedictine order of the Church of England," are as yet willing to cease their efforts. Brother Ignatius, in order to awaken a more general interest in his enterprise, has begun to lecture on the re-establishment of monasticism. He defended monastic institutions on scriptural, ecclesiastical, practical, and political grounds, and expected from their restoration in particular the disappearance of pauperism. Brother Ignatius intends to build his first monastery of the order near Claydon, and is now soliciting funds for that purpose. He needs three hundred pounds, and in a recent lecture at Ipswich announced that already forty pounds had been placed at his disposal.

**PRESBYTERIAN UNION.**—The joint committees of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches have held several meetings during the past three months, in order to mature the scheme of union between the two Churches, and it is understood that matters hitherto are going on favorably, and that nothing has occurred to cloud the prospect of a satisfactory issue of the negotiation. The question of union was also a prominent topic of discussion at the English Provincial Synod

of the United Presbyterian Church, which has this year been constituted by the General Synod of the United Presbyterian Church, and held its first meeting in Liverpool on the 12th of October and following days. The English Synod declared itself unanimously in favor of it.

#### GERMANY.

**PROTESTANT ASSEMBLIES.**—The Gustavus Adolphus Society, whose object is to erect Protestant Churches in the Catholic districts of Germany, and for the Protestant Germans abroad, continues to prosper, and maintains its claim to being the most popular of the religious societies of Germany. It held its annual meeting this year at Lübeck. The Annual Report states that during the year there had been formed forty-eight new branch unions, numbering altogether twelve hundred members. Some provinces, especially those in which high Lutheranism prevailed, showed, however, a want of sympathy. Thus in Pomerania, the most Lutheran of all the German provinces, out of seven hundred parish Church councils that had been addressed, only thirty-six had answered; and in Berlin similar efforts on the part of the president had had very little effect. The publications of the society, its "heralds," "almanacs," and "broadsheets," had been in great demand; the Ladies' Associations had displayed wonderful activity. They had spent during the last financial year 175,038 thalers, which is a marked increase on the preceding year. Special donations had come in to the amount of 6,000 thalers nearly, and fifty-one bequests, amounting to 12,651 thalers, had been received. The society supported during the year four parishes in America, three in Belgium, three hundred and forty-six in Germany, twenty-three in France, eight in Holland, five in Italy, fifty-six in Austria, seventy-two in Hungary, forty-three in Prussian Poland, two in Portugal, two in Russia, six in Switzerland, and eleven in Turkey. Last year there were fifteen churches consecrated, and nineteen more consecrations are contemplated.

The number of periodical assemblies of Protestant Germany has been this year increased by a new one, which held its first meeting at Frankfort-on-the-Main toward the close of September. It calls itself Protestant Diet, (Protestan-

ten Tag,) and its object is to fuse all the Protestant State Churches into one National German Church. Among the theologians who took part in the first assembly were Professor Schenkel and Dr. Zittel, of Heidelberg; Professor Baumgarten, of Rostock; Professor Ewald, of Göttingen. Among the prominent laymen were R. de Bennigsen, the President of the German National Association, Professor Bluntschli, of Heidelberg, and many others. The celebrated historian, Häusser, sent a letter in which he declared for a National Protestant Church, and for the freedom of the individual congregations. In the discussions most of the speakers took the ground that a National Church was desirable, that the liberty of worship restored in its purity by the Reformation was now curtailed by the consistories and their chiefs, the twenty and odd German Sovereigns who arrogate to themselves the supremacy of the Church in their states. They expressed the wish that this liberty were re-established, so as to make the congregations independent in the administration of their religious interests. Several of the speakers referred to the necessity of putting an end to the indifference of the Protestant laymen in religious matters. After a very animated discussion it was resolved to form a "Protestant League," whose object it shall be:

1. To regenerate the German Evangelical Church upon the basis of the independence of the congregations.
  2. To guarantee the rights, the honors, the liberty and independence of German Protestantism, and to oppose every hierarchical influence emanating from the Churches of the different countries.
  3. To preserve and protect the toleration of the different denominations and their members.
  4. To pursue all the enterprises and Christian works tending to promote the moral power of the people.
- These resolutions were unanimously adopted. An executive committee was appointed to extend the organization throughout all the German states. Among its members are Professor Bluntschli, one of the first jurists of Germany, and professor in the Law Faculty of Heidelberg, (President;) Professor Schenkel, also of Heidelberg (Vice-President;) Professor Ewald, of Göttingen; Professor Baumgarten, formerly of Rostock; Dr. Carl Schwartz, of Gotha; Dr. Sydow, of Berlin; George von Bunsen, member of the Prussian Chamber of Representa-

tives for Bonn, and son of the distinguished scholar and statesman. The executive committee has made all the necessary preparations to establish the organization in every German state.

## ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

### GERMANY.

**CATHOLIC CONGRESS.**—The oldest of Catholic Congresses, that of Germany, held its annual meeting at Frankfort-on-the-Main. The local committee seems to have appreciated the circumstance that the Catholic Assembly was allowed to meet in an almost entirely Protestant city. In a letter written to the Pope to solicit his approbation, they say: "It is certainly a gratifying sign of the sense of justice and the love of peace which prevails among our people, that we should be able, without obstruction, publicly to discuss our Catholic affairs in a city, the immense majority of whose inhabitants do not belong to our confession, and every Christian heart must be filled with joy to see disappearing the divisions and the bitterness so opposed to the knowledge of the truth and the salvation of men." These words show that among the Catholic laity the principle of religious toleration is spreading, although the Pope, even in our times, omits no occasion to denounce it. One object which occupied much attention was the establishment of a Roman Catholic University, which was decided upon in principle in last year's congress, held at Aix-la-Chapelle. A committee appointed for that purpose, having set to work in furtherance of the scheme, gave in a report of its proceedings. It had asked and obtained the requisite permission of the German Episcopate and the Pope. The latter had placed the Cardinal Archbishop of Cologne at the head of the undertaking, a circumstance which appears to have singularly fettered the operations of the committee, and even the declarations on the subject at Frankfort; for whenever a proposition was presented, the meeting was itself brought to a stand, and unable to decide anything without the archbishop's consent. The efforts of the committee to collect funds have been attended hitherto with but poor results. Interesting reports were made on the societies for the benefit of the poor and the working classes, which seem to display

commendable activity, and to do much good in the great centers of population. In connection with efforts of this class, a most extraordinary man, the monk Theodosius, of Coire, in Switzerland, produced a lively impression upon the assembly by narrating the manner in which he had endeavored to solve the labor question. He has opened in the city of Coire three or four manufacturing establishments, in which all the operatives are brought under monastic rule. One of the most interesting speeches delivered at the congress was that by Professor Jansen, of Frankfort, who took as his subject the proposition "That the Catholic Church has always favored liberty." The speakers, like Count Montalembert at Malines, spoke in favor of religious toleration, and the congress passed resolutions of the same spirit; yet in Frankfort, as well as in Malines, the congresses were careful not to refer to a single Catholic country which still denies to Protestants the enjoyment of equal political rights.

### BELGIUM.

**CATHOLIC CONGRESS.**—The Roman Catholics of Germany and Switzerland have had, since 1848, annual conventions of priests and laymen, to consult on the important interests of their Church. This year Belgium has followed their example, and held its first "Catholic Congress." This Belgian assembly awakened a much more universal interest than its predecessors had done, as it was understood that it would be virtually a congress of both Belgium and France, in the latter of which countries such meetings would not be allowed by the Government to take place, and that it would be moreover largely attended from nearly every country of Europe. The expectation that many of the most celebrated priests and laymen of the Church would be present was realized, for England sent Cardinal Wiseman, and France Montalembert, De Broglie, and Cochon. Cardinal Wiseman made an eloquent speech on the religious and civic position of the Roman Catholics of England; but the great event in the history of the congress was the speech of Count Montalembert on "Freedom of Worship." The distinguished orator spoke in the most eloquent terms against all religious intolerance. Though he did not expressly censure the legisla-

tion of any Catholic country against Protestants, nor the Papal efforts for keeping, by means of concordats, the Protestants excluded from Catholic countries, he did so implicitly by saying: "I must confess that that enthusiastic devotion for religious freedom, by which I am animated, is not everywhere to be found among Catholics. They desire freedom for themselves, but that is of no great merit; men in general want freedom of every kind for themselves. But the freedom of creeds which we reject and deny, terrifies and troubles many among us. If we inquire into the origin of this terror, we shall find that it rests on the notion entertained by many Catholics, that freedom of worship is of antichristian origin. The consequences of this error have been seen in many blood-stained and deplorable pages in the book of history, though every impartial judge will confess that the cruelties of the Spanish Inquisition and of the edict of Nantes fall short of the horrors of the British reformation and its reign of terror." The sentiments of Count Montalembert were received by the congress with great applause—a proof that the principle of religious toleration is now generally accepted by at least the Roman Catholic laity. Most of the papers of the Catholic world have likewise bestowed an unqualified approval of this speech, and only the great organ of ultramontanism, the *Monde*, of Paris, with a few other sheets, have rejected the views of the distinguished orator as uncatholic.

## GREEK CHURCH.

### RUSSIA.

**MISSIONS OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH.**—The only branch of the Greek Church which is carrying on missionary operations among the Pagan races, and contributing its share to the Christianization and civilization of the world, is the Church of Russia. Though remaining far behind most of the Protestant and Roman Catholic countries both as to the zeal displayed and the results obtained in the foreign mission field, the Church of Russia has made praiseworthy efforts for the Christianization of the tribes inhabiting the vast dominions of Russia in Northern Asia, as well as those living in the Russian territory in North-western America.

There was a time at the beginning of the present century when it seemed

that the Church of Russia would be thoroughly rejuvenated, and, in particular, take hold with ardent zeal of the missionary work. This time was the second half of the reign of Alexander I., and the first years of the reign of Nicholas I., when the agents of the British Bible Society, circulated thousands of Bibles in all the provinces of European Russia, and received the most cordial support in this work from the metropolitans and bishops of the Russian Church; when the Emperor himself was not only a protector, but a member of the Bible Society; when the government extended its patronage to the labors of the Scotch missionaries in the Crimea and in Caucasia, of the Basle missionaries in Georgia and Armenia, and of the London missionaries in Siberia. Unfortunate influences subsequently made Emperor Nicholas the persecutor of the Protestant missions, which, by a series of imperial ukases, issued from 1835 to 1840, were almost wholly destroyed. The missions of the Church of Russia of course survived. Most of them are connected with the name of the priest Benjamin, who is now under the name of Innocentius I., Archbishop of Kamtschatka, and superintendent of all the Polar Churches.

This gifted and distinguished missionary commenced his operations in 1823, upon the Peninsula Alashka, which belongs to Russian America, and upon the adjoining Aleutian and Fox Islands. The first missions in this region had been planted toward the close of the eighteenth century, through the efforts of a Russian merchant, Shelikov, the founder of the Russo-American Commercial Association, but they did not thrive until the arrival of Benjamin. He learned the language of the natives, taught them how to read and to write, and translated into their language portions of the Bible, and of the books of the Russian Church. Since 1830 the conversion of the Aleutians was easily and happily completed.

After this, Benjamin, who sometimes resided upon the Aleutian Islands, and sometimes at Novo-Archangelsk, upon the Island of Sitka, directed his attention to the tribes inhabiting the continent of Russian America. It was especially the wild, romantic Indian tribe of the Koloshes, who lived south of Sitka, among whom he labored. The missions among this tribe met, however, with only partial success. From 1841 to 1860 the



number of converts amounted to about four thousand seven hundred; but part of them did not fully abandon their former Pagan usages and mode of life. Among another tribe, living on the Cook Sound, the Kenaiz, the missionaries were more successful. In the one year 1847, four hundred adult members of the tribe were baptized, and the Christianization of the whole tribe has since made satisfactory progress. Among several other tribes the missionary work was commenced with partial success. The missionaries found a particular desire for embracing Christianity among the Koltehans, the northernmost of the tribes of Russian America.

In all the colonies of Russian America there were in 1860, according to a statement of the Russian Captain Golovnin, seven parish churches and thirty-five chapels, which were served by twenty-seven priests. The superintendence over the parish priests, as well as the missionaries, belongs to the Bishop of Novo-Archangelsk, upon the Island of Sitka, (whose seat is said, however, to have been recently transferred to Yakutsk, Siberia.) Their bishop, in turn, is subordinate to the Archbishop of Kamtschatka, and of the Aleutian and Carilian Islands, who is the superintendent of all the Polar Churches.

The present Archbishop of Kamtschatka, (since 1840,) already mentioned, is the distinguished priest Benjamin, the father of these Polar missions of the Russian Church, who, as Archbishop, has assumed the name of Innocentius I. His diocese is one of the most extensive of the world, and no other bishop has to overcome an equal amount of hardship in the visitation of his diocese. His labors in North-eastern Asia have been very successful. The Kamtschadales were wholly Christianized about the year 1847. Being formally Nomads, they now inhabit small villages, and, to the number of 5,000, visit the churches, which, at ten different localities of the Peninsula, have been erected for them.

An important mission has been recently opened in the Amoor Territory, which was united with the Russian empire in 1858. It is likely that from it the knowledge of Christianity will soon spread into Northern China.

In order to perpetuate and extend the missionary operations in these regions of Asia, a missionary seminary has been established at Yakutsk, Siberia. It has already educated many able and zealous missionaries, and promises to exert a great influence on the progress of Christianity in Eastern Asia.

## ART. IX.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

### GERMANY.

Professor Lechler, of Leipsic, publishes from a Vienna Codex a work of the celebrated reformer, John Wiclif, on Pastoral Theology, which, as the editor states, has never been published before. Dr. Lechler expresses the opinion that it was compiled between the years 1367 and 1378, and he commends it highly for its truly evangelical and estimable sentiments.

Mohammed has found a new biographer among the German scholars, Theodore Nöldeke, (*Das Leben Mohammeds*, Hanover, 1863.) His work is very brief, containing only one hundred and ninety-one pages, and written more in a popular than a learned style. Still it rests

upon the most profound and extensive study of all the sources, as the author has proved by a learned history of the Koran, which he published a few years ago.

New investigations on the Pharisees and Sadducees are given in a pamphlet by Abraham Geiger, (*Sadduceæer und Phariseæer*. Breslau, 1863,) one of the most learned Jewish scholars now living. This pamphlet is a sequel to a larger work by the same author, published five years ago and entitled, "The Original and the Translations of the Bible in their Dependence upon the Inner Development of Judaism." The entirely new opinions which Mr. Geiger advanced in this work met with much contradiction,



which induced the author to write the above pamphlet. In it he undertakes to show that the Sadduceean party arose from a union between the old families and the celebrated family of the sons of Zadock, and that they formed a sacerdotal nobility which rigidly adhered to the primitive form of worship, and with which, at the time of Christ, the party of Herod united. The Pharisees, on the other hand, were, according to Mr. Geiger's opinion, the popular party which later, in the form of Rabbism, obtained a complete victory over the opposite party.

The most important works on the history of the Popes have nearly all been written by Germans; thus that of Innocent III., by Hurter; that of Gregory VII., by Voigt and Gfrörer; that of Alexander III., by Reuter. To them must now be added a work by Dr. G. Voigt on Pope Pius II. and his Times, which has just been completed by the publication of the third volume. (*Eneo Silvio de' Piccolomini, als Papst Pius II.* Berlin, 1863.)

Dr. Spiegel, one of the standard authorities on everything that refers to the sacred books of the Parsees and their language, the Zênâ, has published a posthumous work of the distinguished Orientalist, Fr. Windishmann, entitled "Zoroastrian Essays," (*Zoroastriſche Studien.* Berlin, 1863,) and treating of the mythology and ancient religious history of Central Asia. Spiegel calls this work a "highly important one," which will always maintain a high rank among the works that are written for the elucidation of the Iranian antiquity.

"The Preparation of Evangelical Theologians for the Ministry," (*Bildung der Evangelischen Theologen.* Heidelberg, 1863,) is the title and subject of a work by Professor Schenkel, of Heidelberg, a man of considerable influence in the present religious movements of Germany. Besides a discussion of the question, how theological students ought to be practically trained for their important mission, the book gives the first complete history of the evangelical preachers' seminaries of Germany prior to 1838.

Professors Gess and Riggenbach, of the University of Basel, Switzerland,

both well known as authors of the evangelical school of modern German theology, publish a volume of "Apologetical Essays," (*Apologetische Beiträge.* Basel, 1863.) The volume consists of an essay by Gess on "the Right of Doubting and the Conquest of Doubt," and of one by Riggenbach, on "God's Holiness and Man's Sin."

New works (and also editions of former works) on Christian Doctrines and Christian Ethics are still being published in large numbers. We notice among the most recent: A. Schweizer, (Professor in Zurich,) "System of Christian Doctrines, according to Protestant Principles," (*Christliche Glaubenslehre*, vol. i. Leipsic, 1863.) Culman, "Christian Ethics," (*Christliche Ethik*, vol. i. Stuttgart, 1863.) Ebrard, "System of Christian Doctrine," (*Christliche Glaubenslehre*, new edition,) a well-known standard work of the evangelical theology of Germany. Plitt, "*Evangelische Glaubenslehre*" is announced as being in press by the firm of Perthes, of Gotha. A new edition of one of the old standard works of Lutheran Theology, J. Gerhard's "*Loci Theologici*," is being brought out by E. Preuss. Berlin, 1863.

Of the commentary to the Old Testament by Keil and Delitzsch, Part 2, vol. i, containing the books of Joshua, Judges, and Ruth, is out. Among other exegetical works we find: Keerl, on the Unity of the Biblical Primitive History, (Genesis, i-iii,) and the Harmony of the Biblical Cosmogony with Geology, with special reference to the views of Dr. Delitzsch, Dr. Keil, and Dr. Höleman. Bäumlein, Commentary to the Gospel of John, (Stuttgart.) Hilgenfeld, a Review of the recent literature on the books of Ezra and Daniel, (Jena.)

The recent literature of Germany continues to be very rich in new works treating of the relations between natural sciences on the one hand, and theology and philosophy on the other. Among them we notice Mr. Von Schleiden's three lectures on "The Age of the Human Race, the Origin of the Species, and the Position of Men in Nature," (*Das Alter des Menschen Geschlechts, etc.* Leipsic, 1863.) The author is well known as one of the best botanists of Germany. Karl Riel's "Nature and History," (*Natur und Geschichte.* Leipsic, 1863,) is the

beginning of a work whose task it is to show the mutual relations between nature and history, and, resulting therefrom, the inseparable connection between the history of mankind and natural sciences. The first volume, which is to be regarded as an introduction into the whole work, treats of "The History of Mankind and the Universe."

Students of the Scriptures in the original languages will be glad to learn that a new (seventh) edition of the excellent Hebrew Grammar of Professor Ewald has been published, (*Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache*. Göttingen.) A posthumous work of Dr. K. H. A. Lipsius, containing grammatical investigations upon the Greek of the Bible, has been edited by his brother, Professor Lipsius, of Vienna, (*Grammatische Untersuchungen, über die Biblische Gracität*. Leipsic.) New and entirely revised editions have also been published of the Hebrew Dictionaries of Gesenius and Fürst.

#### FRANCE.

A translation of the complete works of the Emperor Julian, (*Œuvres Complètes de l'Empereur Julien*, par M. E. Tulbot. Paris, 1863,) will be welcomed by such friends of historical studies as cannot read the Greek language. The Emperor Julian, who was so egregiously mistaken in believing himself able to arrest the decay of paganism and to make it again the state religion of the Roman Empire in the place of Christianity, is a character which inspires even now all friends of historical research with great interest. No work, of course, can give a better clue to the character of such a man than his own writings and letters.

Three or four years ago Mr. Prevost Paradoe, one of the editors of the *Journal des Debats*, called the attention of the literary world of France to the merits of Samuel Vincent, one of the earliest and most devoted champions of the principle of religious toleration in Europe. Mr. Vincent was from 1822 to 1837 Protestant pastor in Nîmes, and in some respects ahead of his age. The views which he advanced on the relation between Church and State were little appreciated during his lifetime; but they are now becoming the opinions of all Europe. One of the chief works of Vincent, entitled "*Méditations Relig-*

*ieuses*," and giving his views on religion and Christianity, has been recently republished in Paris, with a sketch of the life and writings of Vincent, by F. Fontanès, and an introduction by Athanasæ Cœusel, Jr., (*Méditations, etc.* Paris, 1863.)

The "History of Christian Doctrines," by the late Prof. Gieseler, of the University of Göttingen, has been translated by Prof. Bruch, of Strasburg, and A. Hobert. (*Gieseler, Histoire des Dogmes*. Paris, 1863.)

One of the best informed writers on Russia, who publishes, under the nom de plume Schédo-Terroll, "Studies on the Future of Russia," has recently brought out the seventh volume of this work, which treats of "Toleration, and the Religious Schism of this Work," (*Etudes sur l'Avenir de la Russie*, 7e Etude. Berlin, 1863.) It is quite an extensive work, from a man who writes with a most minute knowledge, on a subject which is of growing importance for the Protestant and Roman Catholic world.

Abbé Migne has commenced the publication of a "Dictionary of Catholic Missions," to be edited by Lacroix and Djunkovskoy. The first volume, which contains the "Dictionary of Missionaries," is out. The whole is to be completed in two volumes, and forms part of an encyclopedic series, called by the publisher "The Third Catholic Encyclopedia."

Father Gratry, who is regarded as one of the best Catholic writers on philosophical subjects, has commenced the publication of a commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew, (*Commentaire sur l'Evangile selon Saint Matthieu*. Paris, 1863.)

Count Montalembert has published, in pamphlet form, the great speech on a "Free Church in a Free State" which he delivered at the Catholic Congress of Malines, and which attracted to so high a degree the attention and admiration of the world. (*L'Eglise Libre dans l'Etat Libre*. Paris, 1863.) The speech is regarded as one of the master-works of the distinguished orator. A full account of the congress has been published by Chantrel, one of the editors of the late *Univers*, under the title "*Malines, Fêtes and Congrès*."

Of several works now in the course of publication we notice the appearance of vol. vi of Pastor Puaux, (*Histoire de la Reformation Française*), and of vols. iii and iv of Abbé Jagers, (*Histoire de l'Eglise Catholique en France d'après les documents les plus authentiques depuis son origine jusqu'au concordat de Pie vii.*)

A translation of the complete works of St. John Chrysostom has been commenced, "under the direction and with the collaboration" of some monks calling themselves "the priests of the Immaculate Conception of St. Dizier." The title-page claims this to be the first translation of the complete works of this celebrated preacher of the ancient Greek Church into French. The whole work will contain ten or eleven volumes.

The agitation which the "Life of Jesus," by M. Renan, has produced in France remains unabated. The sale of the book already exceeds one hundred thousand copies, and translations in nearly every language of Europe have made their appearance. Of refutations

there is no want. The October number of Reinwald's Monthly Bulletin of French Literature contains no less than twelve new works on Renan's, most of which are, however, small pamphlets. Among them are the following: Father Felix, the most celebrated pulpit orator of the Roman Catholic Church of France, "*M. Renan et sa Vie de Jesus*," originally published as an article in a religious quarterly, (*Etudes Religieuses*); Napoleon Roussel, (a Protestant pastor,) *Le Jesus de M. Renan*, (one of the best pamphlets published on the subject); Pressensé, (editor of the *Revue Chretienne*), *L'Ecole critique et Jesus Christ à propos de la Vie de Jesus de M. Renan*; Pastoral Letters of the Bishops of Nîmes and Grenoble; Olgo, (a priest of the Russian Church), *Reflexions d'un Orthodoxe de l'Eglise Grecque sur la Vie de Jesus de M. Renan*. Pressensé, in an article in the "Christian Work" of London, says that the best reply that has yet proceeded from the Catholic camp is the article of a pious layman, well known in Paris for works of charity and benevolence, M. Cochin, in the *Correspondent*.

#### ART. X.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES, AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

##### *American Quarterly Reviews.*

AMERICAN QUARTERLY CHURCH REVIEW, October, 1863. (New York.)

—1. Stanley's Lectures and the Oriental Churches. 2. The Doctrine and Rationale of Sacraments. 3. Responsibility of Belief. 4. The Anglican Church and Italian Reform. 5. Papal Intermeddling. 6. The Rt. Rev. James Hervey Otey, D.D., LL.D.

BIBLICAL REPERTORY AND PRINCETON REVIEW, October, 1863. (Philadelphia.)

—1. The Anglo-American Sabbath. 2. University Education. 3. Witherspoon's Theology. 4. Micah's Prophecy of Christ. 5. The Children of the Covenant, and "their Part in the Lord." 6. Miracles. 7. The Beautiful Things of Earth. 8. Relation of the Church and State. Recent Explorations in Africa. (*Additional note.*)

BOSTON REVIEW, October, 1863. (Boston.)

—1. Forms of Sound Words. 2. Liberal Religion. 3. A Phenomenon of Calvinism. 4. Colenso's CIPHERING RECIPHERED. 5. Philip Van Artevelde. 6. John Calvin. 7. Short Sermons.

NEW ENGLANDER, October, 1863. (New Haven.)

—1. Cemeteries. 2. The Sanction of all Law, Divine. 3. Review of Tennyson's "Two Voices." 4. Ecumenical Councils. 5. Armenian History. 6. Herbert Spencer on Ultimate Religious Ideas. 7. The Monroe Doctrine. 8. Edward Irving.

AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN AND THEOLOGICAL REVIEW, October, 1863. (New York).—1. Presbyterianism: its Affinities. 2. The Sources of Crime. 3. False Tendency and Radical Defect in Education. 4. American New Testament Commentaries. 5. Mark ii, 23, as compared with Matthew xii, 1, and Luke vi, 1. 6. Draper's Intellectual Development of Europe. 7. The Chinese Classics. 8. Roger Bacon in the Light of New Documents.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA AND BIBLICAL REPOSITORY, October, 1863. (Andover, Mass.).—1. The Pre-existence of the Soul. 2. Stoddard's Theological Lectures. 3. Biblical Cosmology and the Doctrine of the Fall of the World. 4. Constantine the Great, and the Downfall of Paganism in the Roman Empire. 5. Authorship of the Pentateuch. 6. The Doctrine of the Protestant Episcopal Church. 7. Egyptology, Oriental Archæology and Travel. 8. Scheler's Dictionary of French Etymology. 9. Recent Theological Literature of Germany.

The article on the Pre-existence of the Soul is a very valuable condensation of an elaborate German volume by Prof. Bruch of Strasburg. The article on Biblical Cosmology relates to a stupendous theory, explanatory of the Mosaic Cosmology, by Dr. Keerl of Germany, of which Dr. Warren gives an interesting summary; but the article would have interested us still more had it been like the first, a pure condensation. The *heavens and the earth* of Gen. i, 1, are the solar system before its separation into sun and planets, and, of course, the days are immense periods. The chapter is made the nucleus of a grand romance of the universe, which, for aught we know, may be its true history.

Dr. Warren notices, with a somewhat summary sweep, the view of "a Mr. Rorison, of England," that the first chapter of Genesis possesses the rhythm, refrains, and self-completeness of a poem; pronouncing it "a notion," "an elusion," contradicted by two catalogues of Scripture texts which he gives; the second of which catalogues relates to the second chapter of Genesis, and has therefore nothing to do with the poem; and the first presents not the slightest collision with it. As to "elusion," or dodge, if that term designates an evasion of the literal sense of the chapter as it would be understood by an intelligent child, Keerl would be to Rorison as a camel to a gnat. The reconciliation of either with the terms of the Fourth Commandment would be equally difficult and equally easy, both requiring that the literal Day of the Decalogue shall correspond with the symbolic day of the cosmogony. The hymnic view furnishes just as suitable a basis for the normal cosmogonical phraseology of the Bible as the Keerlic.

If our readers will compare our notice of Rorison's essay in "Replies to Essays and Reviews" with our notice of Dana's Geology in the Quarterly following, they will find a curious coincidence. They will find that the schematism of the creation which Mr. Rori-

son found in the "Hymn" precisely accords with the schematism found by Prof. Dana in geology! Two independent minds separately drew a draft of creation, the one from the psalm of the first chapter of Genesis, and the other from science, and they precisely correspond! The hymnic view therefore has, if required, an ample scientific basis.

If Dr. W. will take the trouble to procure and read this same "a Mr. Rorison" before he sweeps him off the boards, he may find proofs of the Hymnic character of that chapter which he will scarce refute. There is no psalm or prophecy in the old Testament bearing in its internal structure a more unequivocally poetic character. The assignment of its authorship to Adam, and the suggestion of its forming a part of the Patriarchal hymnology, were only thoughts furnished as pleasing to our own fancy, tallying indeed with associate facts, but claiming no historical basis.

**BROWNSON'S QUARTERLY REVIEW.** Third New York Series. (New York.) October, 1863.—1. Catholics and the Anti-Draft Riots. 2. New England Brahminism. 3. Visions and Revelations. 4. Return of the Rebellious States.

In Dr. Brownson's present position in the American Romish communion we seem to recognize the providential wisdom of his being allowed to collapse under the sway of the Pope. He is telling truth to the Romanists of this country, unwelcome yet powerful, which would be wholly unheard by them from Protestant lips or pen. His graphic descriptions of the demoralization of our Romanist clans, so faithfully true to life, are by him intended to point to reformation and regeneration. We heartily wish him success. Closed as Romanist ears are to Protestant effort, it is consoling to find at any rate one voice within their pale that recognizes the degradation and seeks to point them to virtue, piety, truth, education, and freedom. These traits are the indestructible remnants of Yankee Protestantism imported by him into their camp, and it would be well for them could they appreciate the lessons of wisdom he inculcates. Dr. Brownson is the only man we know in our land who is at all dangerous to Protestantism. Should the policy he preaches be adopted, should Romanism put off the dirty habiliments of inciviliation and sin, and stand up in the better spirit of our age, there are historical and esthetical, not to say doctrinal and spiritual associations about her that might fascinate countless thousands if not millions into her fold. Terrible and terribly repulsive in our land is the Church of Kempis, Pascal, and Fenelon. It is not "the Church in the catacombs," but, largely the Church in the whisky cellars. That Church itself is the most



unanswerable witness against itself; and often do we in reading his pages think to ourselves, "How is it that this keen-sighted man does not see in all this the demonstration that Romanism is a false and fatal delusion?" And then we reply to ourself, "This blindness is not simply judicial, but providential."

Dr. Brownson may retort that Irish and Catholic degradation is the result of Saxon and Protestant oppression. We reply first, it was the Pope and Romanism that first subdued Ireland under the sway of the Saxon; and second, that the Waldenses of Piedmont have been more oppressed than the Catholics of Ireland, but their morals are far more pure than those of their Romish oppressors. No, Dr. Brownson, it is not simply English oppression; cruel and unprincipled as that has been, but Romish priestcraft that has demoralized Ireland and sent her mob material to demoralize our metropolis and curse our country with disloyalty, clannishness, ignorance, and rapine.

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*English Reviews.*

**THE CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER**, October, 1863. (London.)—1. Miracles. 2. A Dialogue on the best form of Government. 3. The Abbé Prompsault—His Life and Works. 4. Prehistoric Man. 5. Bishop Blomfield. 6. French Ecclesiology. 7. Mr. Kinglake's Crimea. 8. The Life of Bishop Wilson. 9. Neale's Essays on Liturgiology and Church History.

**THE EDINBURGH REVIEW**, October, 1863. (New York: Reprint.)—1. Queensland. 2. Gregorovius's Medieval Rome. 3. Cadastral Survey of Great Britain. 4. Macknight's Life of Lord Bolingbroke. 5. Austin on Jurisprudence. 6. The Royal Academy. 7. Chinchona Cultivation in India. 8. Phillimore's Reign of George III. 9. Tara: a Mah-ratta Tale. 10. The Colonial Episcopate.

**THE JOURNAL OF SACRED LITERATURE AND BIBLICAL RECORD**, October, 1863. (London.)—1. On Current Methods of Biblical Criticism. 2. Contributions to Modern Ecclesiastical History. No. 2. The Gustavus Adolphus Society. 3. The Chronology, Topography, and Archaeology of the Life of Christ. By REV. J. P. THOMPSON, D.D., New York. 4. The Epistle of Barnabas: from the Codex Sinaiticus. 5. Buddhism: its Origin, Doctrines, and Prospects. 6. Æthiopic Liturgies and Hymns. 7. The Bordeaux Pilgrim in Palestine. 8. Renan's Life of Jesus.

**THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW**. October, 1863. (New York: Reprint.)—1. Progress of Engineering Science. 2. Life and Writings of Thomas Hood. 3. Antiquity of Man. 4. Co-operative Societies. 5. Japan. 6. Anti-Papal Movement in Italy. 7. Froude's Queen Elizabeth. 8. The Church of England and her Bishops.

**THE NATIONAL REVIEW**, October, 1863. (London.)—1. Recent Criticism of the Old Testament. 2. Distortions of the English Stage: Macbeth. 3. Health of the British Army at Home and Abroad. 4. Mr. Freeman's History of Federal Government. 5. Poland as it is. 6. The Royal Supremacy, and the History of its Introduction. 7. Mr. Browning's



Poems. 8. The Effect of the Gold Discoveries. 9. The Recent Foreign Policy of our Government. 10. The late Sir G. C. Lewis. 11. M. Renan's Life of Jesus.

THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW, October, 1863. (New York: Reprint.)—1. The French Conquest of Mexico. 2. Romola. 3. Miracles. 4. Gervinus on Shakspeare. 5. The Treaty of Vienna: Poland. 6. Wit and Humor. 7. The Critical Character. 8. Victor Hugo. 9. Mackay's Tübingen School.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, (Wesleyan.) October, 1863. (London.)—1. The Life and Works of Heinrich Zschokke. 2. Howitt on the Supernatural. 3. The "Situation" in Poland. 4. Thomas Hood. 5. Farrar's Bampton Lecture. 6. Recent French Literature. 7. Jurisdiction in Colonial Churches. 8. The General Post-Office. 9. The Sinai Bible.

The article on the Supernatural admits the reality of a large amount of the phenomena of spiritualism, but maintains that they are probably not supernatural nor the work of supernatural agents; but as Humboldt suggested "they are disjointed indications and fragments of some higher law which at present eludes us, but which when discovered will probably unravel some of the hidden mysteries of our being." The writer shows that neither the admission of their reality as supernatural, nor the denial of their reality as facts, any way affects the credibility of the Scripture miracles. He admits the reality of second sight and of the appearance of departed spirits, that is, of apparitions or ghosts, to the eyes of the living, of which he narrates some instances.

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, October, 1863. (London.)—1. The Scottish Philosophy. 2. The Perfection of Christ's Humanity. 3. Father Lacordaire. 4. Dollinger on "The Church and the Churches." 5. Whately's Preliminary Dissertation. 6. Date of the Books of Chronicles. 7. Slavery and the Bible. 8. Mexico, Ancient and Modern. 9. Plato and Christ. 10. Life of Dr. Leitch. 11. Biblical and Miscellaneous Intelligence.

This organ of the Free Church of Scotland publishes at full length the "Address to Christians throughout the World," issued by "the clergy of the Confederate States of America." To it is appended a note telling from how high a source the document comes, and explaining how favorable a view it exhibits of slaveholding Christianity. After giving the census of communicants, white and black, it adds: "Thus has God blessed us in gathering from the children of Africa more than twice as many as are reported from all the converts in the Protestant Missions throughout the heathen world."

What a missionary institution the slave-trade has proved to be! And how becoming it is for an "evangelical" review to publish such a note without comment! These evangelical editors leave the defense of truth and righteousness to the Westminster Review

and Francis W. Newman. What wonder that infidelity should triumph where Christianity is dishonored with such representatives?

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1863. (London.)—1. Renan's *Vie de Jésus*. 2. Peasant Life in Switzerland. 3. Fawcett's *Manual of Political Economy*. 4. The Sinaitic Codex. 5. Home in Poland. 6. Dr. Whewell's *Moral Works*. 7. Self-government in India. 8. Recent Works of Fiction—Romola. 9. Modern Anthropology. 10. Epilogue on Affairs and Books.

If a great change has taken place in English feeling toward the United States in regard to the great rebellion, intelligence of the fact does not seem to have reached the hostile Quarterlies—especially the British. Though it be the representative of the evangelical dissenting sentiment, comprehending, we should suppose, a large share of the reflecting mind of the moral middle class, it has been the most unscrupulous of all the set—a sanctimonious counterpart of the London "Times." Its editor, Dr. Vaughan, is a man of some standing in his sect and in literature. In the year 1857 we had occasion to note that of all the Quarterlies that reviewed our antislavery struggle, the British was the most ultra antislavery, the most unsparing and unexcusing. Since the gun of Sumter its sympathies have been, not with the national government, but with rebellion; not with the side that submitted to war rather than accept the nationalization of slavery, but with the slaveholding oligarchy. The malevolence, the varying mendacities through which the editor revolves, as the revolution of affairs carries him around the compass of subterfuge, we need not trace, but the following, from the editorial "Epilogue" at the close of the number, will form a specimen:

\* No amount of sophistry can save the slave system of the South from the execration of good men. But we cannot see the religion or the morality of attempting to put down one horror by means of a flood of horrors still more horrible. Such is the present policy of the North, even in the case of those who are sincere abolitionists. In the case of the great majority, who use the slave question for purely political purposes, the cant of insincerity is added to the other ingredients of the strife. Popular principles, and the good name of Puritanism, have suffered injuries during the last two years which the next half-century will hardly suffice to retrieve. It is with deep sorrow that we thus write. The hoarded miseries for humanity with which the Northern States of America are charged will be felt in their time. England, do what she may, will have her full share of them. But England will know how to do her duty.

In the article on Modern Anthropology it is said that Darwin's theory "has been all but universally accepted" in England. The article closes with the following summary:

We believe in the unity of the human species for these reasons: 1. While there are differences of color and external formation, there is an *essential identity* in anatomical structure and physiological endowment, as well as in mental faculties.

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and characteristics. 2. The differences alluded to are not greater than may be reasonably accounted for on well-known physical principles. To those who doubt the efficiency of "conditions of life" in modifying type, we would point out the specialization of formation already evinced in a few generations in the States of North America. 3. The various races, however distinct in appearance, are all fertile among each other, and produce fertile offspring to indefinite generations—an infallible and absolute predicate of *species*.

Finally, we hold that man is not amenable (except for arbitrary and scientific purposes) to zoological classification, but is as much removed from animal nature as animals are from plants, or these from inorganic matter—removed by the possession of distinct orders of attributes as marked as those which separate the other kingdoms of nature. In vegetables we have the life of the Body; the somatic, or organic life. In animals we have superadded the senses, the emotions, the volitions, and certain intellectual manifestations, which, collectively, may be termed the life of the Soul—*Ψυχη*. In man alone have we the tripartite nature of Body, Soul, and *Spirit*. In him alone is there any self-consciousness, conscience, knowledge of good and evil, possession of abstract idea, and language wherein to clothe it. In him alone is there evidence of unlimited capacity for improvement. Above all, in him alone is there any aspiration after a spiritual life and a glorious immortality. These things, we conceive, remove him more essentially from classification with the brutes, be it as species, genus, order, or sub-class, than do the possession or non-possession of a *hippocampus minor*, or a *posterior cornu* to the lateral ventricles. It is these alone that entitle him to his position as a little lower than the angels, as an heir of God and joint-heir of Jesus Christ.

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### German Reviews.

**ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE THEOLOGIE.** (Journal of Scientific Theology. Edited by Dr. Hilgenfeld. Third Number, 1863.)—

1. HILGENFELD, The Prophet Ezra, and the most recent works on the subject. 2. D. F. STRAUSS, The History of the Piece of Money in the Mouth of the Fish. Matt. xvii. 24–27. 3. PAUL, The Historical Proofs of a Real Resurrection of Christ according to the New Testament Accounts. 4. HILGENFELD, The Gospels and the Historical Character of Jesus. 5. BOHMER, The Origin of Christmas.

**JAHRBUCHER FÜR DEUTSCHE THEOLOGIE.** (Year-book of German Theology. Edited by Dr. Liebner, Dr. Dorner, and others. Third Number, 1863.)—

1. HAMBERGER, The Idea of a Heavenly Corporality. 2. RITSCHT, On the Saving Power of the Death of Jesus in the New Testament. (Second Article.) 3. DIESTEL, The Idea of the Theocratical King.

**THEOLOGISCHE QUARTALSCHRIFT.** (Theological Quarterly, 1862. Second Number.)—

1. SPEIL, The Authenticity of the Book of Daniel. 2. HEFELE, Pope Gregory IX., and Emperor Frederic II. Third Number.—1. LANGEN, The First Readers of the Epistle to the Hebrews. 2. MEY, On Catechisms.

**STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN.** (Essays and Reviews, edited by Dr. Ullmann and Dr. Rothe. First Number, 1864.)—

1. SCHMIDT, Berthold of Ratisbon. 2. PISCHON, The Constitution of the Orthodox Greek Church. 3. KÖSTER, On the Pure Religious Ideas in Homer. 4. VALENTINER, Plotin and his Enneads. 5. WEISS, Review of Hilgenfeld's Canon of the New Testament. 6. HUNDESHAGEN, Review of Sudhoff's Commentary to the Heidelberg Catechism.

This number of the "Studien" is one of the best that has been published for many years. Nearly all the subjects are of gener-

interest. In the first article Professor Schmidt, of Strasburgh, a Church historian well known for many excellent works, gives a sketch of the celebrated Berthold of Ratisbon, one of the most famous preachers of the middle ages, and whom many of his admirers count even now among the greatest orators Germany ever produced. Cotemporaneous writers give the most marvellous accounts of his success. Thus Hermann, of Altaich, reports that often more than forty thousand people thronged round his pulpit; later accounts swelled the number of his hearers to one hundred thousand, yea, two hundred thousand. Yet the sermons of Berthold were almost unknown until thirty-eight years ago Dr. Kling (Professor of Protestant Theology at several German universities in succession) published them for the first time. Their theological contents and beautiful language attracted at once the attention of both theologians and philologists, and Jacob Grimm introduced the book to the literary world by an extensive notice. A translation of the sermons from the medieval into the modern German were published by F. Göbel, a Catholic priest, in two volumes, at Schaffhausen, 1850, (second edition 1857.) Both the complete edition of the original by Kling and the likewise incomplete translation of the sermons by Göbel had produced a widely felt desire for a critical edition of the complete works of Berthold. This desire of the German scholars and theologians Professor Pfeiffer, of the University of Vienna, one of the leading German writers on the medieval literature of their country, has undertaken to fulfill by publishing the first volume of such an edition in 1862. At his request, and in order to call the general attention of theologians to the important publication, Professor Schmidt has prepared the above article for the *Studien*, treating of the career of Berthold as a preacher.

The second article, on the Orthodox Greek Church, is from the pen of C. N. Pischon, formerly preacher of the Prussian Embassy in Constantinople. It gives an interesting sketch on the History of the Greek Church since the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR HISTORISCHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal of Historical Theology. Edited by Dr. Niedner. First Number, 1864.)—1. WALTER, The Gradual Transition of Bremen from the Lutheran to the Reformed Church. 2. OTTO, The Dialogue Attributed to the Patriarch Gennadius, on the Main Points of Christian Faith. 3. LÜDDE, Excommunication, especially in the Protestant Church of Switzerland.

The dialogue entitled, "On Some Chief Points of the Christian Faith," (*περί τινων κεφαλαίων τῆς ἡμετέρας πιστεύσεως*), which is ascribed to the Patriarch Gennadius, of Constantinople, is of con-

siderable importance for the dogmatic controversy between the Greek and Latin Churches on the Holy Spirit. This dialogue expressly teaches that the Spirit proceeds from the Father "AND THE SON," which doctrine the Greeks have always maintained to be an adulteration of the ecumenical confessions of faith. The advocates of a union between the Greek and the Latin Churches have therefore naturally laid great stress on this passage, as, if the book itself were genuine, it would prove that the doctrine objected to by the Greeks was expressly taught by one of the most celebrated patriarchs. Professor Otto, of the Protestant Theological Faculty of Vienna, has however shown, in an article published in Niedner's *Journal of Historic Theology*, in 1850, that this dialogue does not belong to Gennadius, but that a unionist Greek (one in favor of a union with Rome) has taken it almost bodily from a Pseudo-Athanasian dialogue and falsely attributed it to Gennadius. Several German scholars, as Gieseler, (in his *Church History*, vol. iii,) and R. Hoffmann, (in his *Symbolik*, Leipzig, 1857,) have since declared their assent to the opinion of Professor Otto. Others, like Bähr (in Ersch's *Allgemeine Encyclopädie*, section 1, vol. lviii, page 205,) and Wagenmann, (*Herzog's Real-Encyclopädie*, vol. v, page 10,) have since continued to cite the work as one of Gennadius, probably without knowing the article of Professor Otto. The latter, therefore, in the article in the last number of Niedner's *Journal*, recurs to the subject, and brings forward new arguments in support of his opinion.

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### French Reviews.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES.—August 1, 1863.—2. HAVET, Review of the Life of Jesus, by Renan. 3. LINDAU, A Voyage Around Japan. (Second article.) 9. MAZADE, The Russian System. 10. TAILLANDIER, A Book on the History of Protestantism in France.

August 15.—3. CASIMIR PERIER, Memoirs of a British Diplomatist. 4. PAUL JANET, Cotemporaneous Materialism in Germany. 6. AUDIGANNE, Railroads after the Completion of the European Net. 9. MILSAND, Meditations of a Protestant Pastor.

September 1.—2. CASIMIR PERIER, Reminiscences of a British Diplomatist. (Second article.) 3. AMPERE, The Struggles of Liberty at Rome. 5. LINDAU, A Voyage Around Japan. (Third article.)

September 15.—5. JULES SIMON, Primary Instruction and Popular Libraries in France. 6. SAVENEY, Spiritism and the Spirits.

October 1.—1. TAILLANDIER, The Tragedies of Henry Heine. 4. REVILLE, Apocalyptical Toleration among the Jews and the Christians. 6. JALOS, Madagascar, History of the Relations between Madagascar and France. 7. Public Instruction in Italy.



October 15.—1. RENAN, Natural and Historical Sciences. 2. BAILLEUX DE MARISEY, The City of Paris, Its Finances and Public Works since the Beginning of the Century. 4. LAUGEL, The Civil War in the United States. (1861-63.) 5. LINDAU, A Voyage Around Japan. (Fourth article.) 6. MAZADE, Eight Months of War in Poland. 7. JULES DE LASYEYRIE, Ireland and the Cause of its Mystery.

The *Revue des Deux Mondes* continues to devote a very large space of its columns to the discussion of the great religious questions of the day—the best proof how profoundly they agitate the highest literary circles of Europe. In the list of articles mentioned above we find a review of Renan's *Life of Jesus*, by Havet, Professor at the College de France; an essay on the History of French Protestantism, by the celebrated critic, Saint Rene Taillandier; a review of the recent materialistic literature of Germany, by Paul Janet; an article on the spiritualistic manifestations, by Saveney; an article by Reville, one of the most prolific writers of the critical school, on the Revelation of John; finally, a letter from Ernest Renan on Natural and Historical Sciences, giving a brief exposition of his present religious views. The *Revue* admits articles from eminent writers of all theological parties, though it evidently favors the school of which Renan is now the most famous representative.

The letter of Renan on the Relation of Natural to Historical Sciences expresses a regret that his early studies have been devoted to the latter in preference to the former. No sciences, he now thinks, can do more for an elucidation of the mysterious history of mankind and the universe than the natural sciences. His own views and speculations, which Renan develops at some length, resemble those of Hegel. He concludes his letter with the following remarks:

Does not Jesus live a thousand times more, is he not a thousand times more beloved now than he was at the moment when he lived? I do not refer to his reputation, his glory, which without being a vanity, is often a crying injustice. Many of the men who hold the first rank among mankind are and will remain unknown. "They live for God," as was said by the author of the treatise "*De Rationis Imperio*," an admirable treatise written by a cotemporary and countryman of Jesus. The greatest saints are the unknown saints, and God preserves the secret of the greatest merits which have ennobled a mortal being. A number of men, entirely unknown by the crowd, exercise in reality in the world a greater influence than men whose reputation makes the greatest noise. In God man is immortal. The categories of time and space are effaced in the absolute; what exists for the absolute is as much that which has been as that which will be. Thus live in God all the souls which have lived. Why should not the reign of the Spirit, the goal of the universe, be also the resurrection of every consciousness? The Spirit will be all-powerful, the idea will be all-reality: what else signifies this language than that in the idea everything will revive? The manner in which these things will be accomplished cannot but escape us; for, I repeat, in thousands of centuries the condition of the world will perhaps be as different from the present condition as the mechanical atom is from a thought or from a sentiment.

This much we may however affirm, that the final resurrection will be made through science, through the science either of men or of some other intelligent being. The scientific reform of the universe is the work scarcely commenced which



devolves upon reason. A thousand times this attempt may be treated as a crime, a thousand times conservatism may cry out that we commit an outrage against God; but the progress of conscience is a fatal thing. Let us assume that our planet be condemned to reach only middling results, that habit, under the pretext of preserving the doctrines which it wants, should stifle the scientific spirit and incapacitate mankind for grand things: what would such a loss be for the whole universe? Not more than that of a grain of corn which falls upon a stone, or a germ of life which in the mysterious night of generation does not find the conditions favorable to its development.

The article by Jules Simon, one of the greatest thinkers of modern France, on Primary Instruction, is highly instructive and suggestive. It makes the following remarks on the circulation of the Bible:

In Protestant countries under every roof there is at least one book—the Bible. Every one knows of the number of Bibles given away in England. In Paris if you are present at a Protestant marriage you will always see the ceremony end in the giving of a Bible. It is a well-judged act of religion, and at the same time, in a secular point of view, it is a most useful custom for the poor. The presence of this one book brings back the recollection of school days, and perpetuates what was then learned. Now among Catholics the mass-book will be found rather than the Bible, and we must admit that even the mass-book is an exception. In most Churches the women tell beads upon their fingers, the men sing psalms from memory. At home they have nothing to read—not a journal, not even an almanac. Not only they read no books, but they see none! The visible sign of civilization is absent from the cottage. . . . The Protestants who give a Bible to every couple on whose union a blessing is implored, render service, not to Protestantism only, but to mankind. Why have not Christian communities thought of circulating millions of copies of the Sermon on the mount, properly illustrated, to take the place of the gross wood-cuts whose defects do not always consist of mere offense against good taste? With what ardor would liberal thinkers bring their mite toward so blessed a work.

REVUE CHRETIENNE—*Aug. 15, 1863.*—1. PRESSENSE, The Critical School and Jesus Christ. 2. KUHN, Memoirs of Madame Swetchine.

*September 15.*—HERZOG, Fenelon and his Doctrine of Pure Love. 2. KUHN, Moral Influence of Novels. 3. PEYRE, Theodicy of Leibnitz.

We have already had occasion to speak of the article of Pressense against Renan. It is regarded in France, not only by orthodox Protestants, but also by many Roman Catholics, as the best that has yet been written. The article on Madame Swetchine gives an account of a Russian lady who, through the influence of De Maistre, was drawn toward and finally into the Church of Rome, and who for many years shone in the highest literary circles of Paris for her fervid piety, and great interest in the literary movements of the day. One of the most prominent members of the liberal Catholic school in France, Count de Falloux, has written her life, and more recently published an autobiographical work of hers, containing an account of the reasons which led her to Rome, and a collection of meditations and prayers. Mr. Kuhn's view of Madame Swetchine and her work is comprised at the conclusion of his article in these words: "As a

theologian, she does not rise above common prejudices. As a spiritual writer, she remains within the narrow domain of mystic aspirations. Her piety lacks air and liberty. There is in her nothing grand, except the sentiment to which she consecrated her life: to seek God, to find, and to love him. But this is better than everything else."

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#### ART. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

##### *Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.*

*Watson's Theological Institutes Defended*; the Teaching of Transcendental Philosophy shown to be at variance with Scripture and Matter-of-Fact; and the Bible proved to be Complete in itself, both in Teaching and Evidence. By Rev. JOHN LEVINGTON. 12mo., pp. 288. For sale by T. K. Adams, Detroit. New York: Barnes & Burr. 1863.

This volume consists of a polemic upon the articles in the Methodist Quarterly by Rev. Mr. Cocker upon the metaphysics of "Watson's Institutes;" an issue with certain positions of Dr. Dempster in Natural Theology; a defense of Grenville Penn's Theories of Geology; and the substance of Leslie's Short Method with the Deists. Mr. Levington is evidently very sincere and honest in his retention and maintenance of views once current but now somewhat obsolete, and his discussions are conducted in the spirit of Christian courtesy. Without claiming to be an Athanasius, he recognizes that his position is *contra mundum*. As we are of the "world," he of course does not expect that we should entertain the same appreciation with himself of the successive tractates (except the last) in his neat volume.

We have never been able to understand why theologians have averred that the existence of a supreme deity could not be discovered by the reason of man. It seems to us an appalling concession to atheism. The steps by which the discovery is supposably attained are short, few, and obvious. The child asks, Who made me? Who made everything? Who made the world? And the child can understand the mother's answer. The positive elements of natural theology are often learned in five minutes at five years of age. Compare this simple process with the discoveries in Geometry, made beyond all doubt by natural human reason. Think of the numerous recondite steps to be taken by a matured mind before attaining the mastery of the forty-seventh of Euclid's First Book. The ignorance of the savage tribes of the earth of the existence of a God, admitting the fact, no more proves his existence undiscoverable by the human mind, than it proves that unaided man could not produce a school arithmetic.

If Mr. Levington finds his faith and piety sustained by his philosophy, well. But let him not attribute "skepticism" to those who find the same support from the reverse view. Individually, the training of the writer of these lines was in the mental and moral philosophy of Locke and Paley as text authors. Their influence upon his mind was fearfully deleterious. Locke's derivation of our ideas primitively from matter through sensation; secondarily, from the minds operating upon those sensations, was rife to him with materialism, with atheism. It was impossible for him to escape the conclusion that all our thoughts were but impressions from a material object upon a material sensorium, and then material impressions again of those material impressions, and so on. Let two mirrors shed their reflections into each other in row, and you have the very image of the thing. From Paley he understood that right and wrong were mere creatures of education. He was from all this to his own mind a theoretic Christian only by being a bad logician. After such a cramped process he founded the revival of the larger old philosophy of Cudworth, and Henry More, though modified and christened with the modern epithet transcendental, to be a relief to his suffocated soul. The Locke philosophy, whether directly derived from Locke or not, he did recognize, but never accept, in Watson. But if the writer of this volume accepts and finds his faith and philosophy in harmony, far be it from us to offer any disturbance to either. But as to the defense of Grenville Penn's geology, the revival of the Ptolemaic astronomy would be about as hopeful a procedure, and about as creditable to the Christian apologist.

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*Palmoni*; or, the Numerals of Scripture a proof of Inspiration. A Free Inquiry. By M. MAHAN, D.D., St. Mark's-in-the-Bowery Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the General Theological Seminary. 12mo. pp. 176. New York: Appleton & Co. 1863.

That there is some sort of significance in some of the biblical numbers has been vaguely recognized by theologians in the commonplace but not very intelligible statement that "seven is a number of perfection;" and no theological scholar will deny the significance of a numeral in Rev. xiii, 18. The perusal of Professor Stuart's *Excursus on Scripture Numerals* in the appendix to his *Commentary on the Apocalypse* will place beyond doubt the belief that scriptural numerals are largely symbolical and significant. The realistic character of our modern mind is unreflectingly disposed to reject such symbolism as puerile. In doing so it forgets that revelation has had to accommodate itself to the infantile age of the human race. It forgets that printing and even writing were once

non-existent arts, and that the association of sacred truths with number and other symbols for impressive and mnemonic purposes may have been the wisest possible provision in the existing case. We see by this why in the account of the creation the number *seven* is fundamental; and why that number reigns throughout the Mosaic symbolism and reappears in rich luxuriance in the Apocalypse.

Professor Mahan's researches add a large amount to the results obtained in this peculiar field of research. The reader unacquainted with the past developments will see much that he will pronounce "curious;" far more than he will feel able to explain on the supposition of mere fancy; while few persons who are posted in the subject will hesitate to see that for the great mass of his positions he has made a strong case, a case which is capable of demonstrative proof or refutation by experiment.

The significant numbers developed by Professor Mahan are found in the names and chronological figures of Old and New Testaments. They disclose a whole series, or a number of serial sets, of coincidences of a most artificial character, explicable only upon the hypothesis of a divine intention maintained through ages in the production of the sacred canon. It becomes then a very unique proof of what must be called the miraculous unity of the one Holy Book. If this artificiality of character is fanciful, it can easily be shown by experimentation upon some great line of secular history, say Livy's History of Rome. This Professor Mahan has tried with, as he conceives, demonstrative results. His work then, if unsound, is liable to decisive refutation. We call the attention of biblical scholars to the subject.

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*The Headship of Christ and the Rights of the People.* A collection of Essays, Historical and Descriptive Sketches, and Personal Portraits. With the Author's celebrated Letter to Lord Brougham. By HUGH MILLER, author of "Footprints of the Creator," etc. Edited, with a Preface, by PETER BAYNE, A.M. 12mo., pp. 502. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co. Cincinnati: Geo. S. Blanchard. 1863.

In the great battle fought by the evangelical Church in Scotland against a godless political lay intrusion, forcing unworthy ministers on the congregations, a stalwart champion was found in Hugh Miller. The best of his efforts in that battle are here before us. And as the battle is full of rich lessons, so these essays are full of grand utterances, vivid pictures, heroic spirit, and Christian doctrines. Christ, the sole head of the Church—his laws its sole rule—these were the grand principles with which old Scotland had once turned out old Popery, and young Scotland went out

from young secularism. The rich Christian democratic spirit of the work is truly American; and we confess to have received some lessons and impulses from its pages touching close upon the present discussion in our own American Methodism.

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*Literary Characteristics and Achievements of the Bible.* By REV. W. TRAIL, A.M. 12mo., pp. 368. Cincinnati: Poe & Hitchcock. 1863.

This work is admirably calculated to supply a vacancy in our denominational literature. The editor, Dr. Clark, says: "The author has brought to the composition of this volume a taste, a culture, and an earnestness of purpose which have left their impress upon every chapter. He manifestly entered into the spirit of his work. While, with a master hand, he discloses the beauties of the Bible—its high literary characteristics, and its wonderful achievements—he is constantly directing the reader to its Divine authorship. No one can rise from the perusal of this work without feeling that the blessed volume of which it treats is

"On every line  
Marked with the seal of high Divinity;  
On every leaf bedewed with drops of love  
Divine, and with the eternal heraldry  
And signature of God Almighty stamped,  
From first to last."

"The religious public of Great Britain have attested their appreciation of its value in the successive editions of it that have been demanded. The English press has also bestowed upon it the highest encomiums. It now remains to be seen whether it shall have equal appreciation from the Christian public of America."—P. 3, Preface. The minister of the Gospel will find it a rich source of illustration. The Sunday-school library should ever possess a copy, and it would beyond all doubt be an inspiring and instructive book for the instructor of the Bible class, if not even a profitable and fascinating text-book for a class itself.

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*Sermons Preached before His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, during his Tour in the East in the Spring of 1862, with Notices of some of the Localities Visited.* By ARTHUR PENRHYN STANLEY, D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford; Honorary Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen; Honorary Chaplain to the Prince of Wales. 12mo., pp. 272. New York: Charles Scribner. 1863.

This volume, done up in Scribner's handsome style, consists of two parts: Sermons preached in different regions of the East through which the Prince and his party passed, and Notices of objects and localities mostly in the Holy Land. The sermons are short, and have usually some local reference. They exhibit much of Stanley's



fresh and pictured style. The notices are a pleasant contribution to the existing treasures of sacred geography. Stanley's Christian unction as preacher would sometimes appear rather poetical than spiritual. His sermon on the "Mission of the Comforter" falls far below the spirit of Charles Julius Hare on the same subject. It has a rich glow, but it is rather of the imagination than of a true experience.

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*Heaven our Home.* We have no Saviour but Jesus, and no Home but Heaven. By the author of "Meet for Heaven." 12mo., pp. 310. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1864.

In these days of political turmoil and mechanical improvements let us not wholly forget the purifying power of religious contemplative meditation. The numerous works of that kind issuing from the press are a propitious token that this is not wholly neglected. The volume before us, from its elevating topics, its depth of reflection, and its pure beauty of expression, is without question one of the best of its class. It is divided into Three Parts, treating of Heaven as a Home, the Heavenly Recognition, and the Interest of Heaven in Us. It is a pure gem for the Christian reader.

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*Foreign Theological Publications.*

*Das System der praktischen Theologie*, von DR. C. B. MOLL. 8vo., pp. 404. Halle: Muhlmann.\*

After centuries of confused use and abuse the term *Practical Theology* has at last received a fixed definition and determinate position in the organism of theological science. It is no longer to be confounded with a diluted, popularized edition of scientific theology "for students incompetent to learn the theoretic science," (Planck;) nor can it any more be used as a synonym of Christian Ethics or Pastoral Theology. It has taken its place in the circle of theological sciences as an independent department co-ordinate with Exegetical, Historical, and Systematic Theology. The Christian religion presents itself to the student under four aspects—as a divine revelation, as a history, as a system of doctrines and duties, and, finally, as a corporate life. As now the department of Exegetical Theology embraces all those sciences which in any way treat of the Holy Scriptures; that of Historical Theology, all which in any way treat of Sacred and Church History; that of Systematic Theology, all which set forth the doctrinal and ethical systems of

\* These notices of German Theological publications are from the pen of Prof. Warren, of Bremen.



Christianity; so Practical Theology is that department of theologic science which treats of the *Functions of Church Life*. As such it embraces the subordinate sciences of Church government, edification, and worship. It includes and covers such special branches as "Pastoral Theology," "Homiletics," "Catechetics," "Christian Pedagogics," etc. Being the science of the collective functions of the Church regarded in her unity, it is able to give due attention and prominence to each of those functions—the regulative, the educational, and the edifying—a thing impossible under the old-fashioned arrangement. The attempt to compass the whole within the limits of a Pastoral Theology has led to frightful distortions of that important branch of ministerial education. The first impulse to this, as to so many other improvements in the domain of theological study, was given by Schleiermacher; and this conception of the nature and limits of Practical Theology has met with such favor that theologians of the most diverse schools, as, for instance, Roman Catholic von Drey, Protestant Nietzsche, Hegelian Marheineke, compromising Hagenbach, and Lutheran Harless, give in their unanimous support.

The work before us is a compendious, but thorough and very systematic treatise, covering the whole field of Practical Theology as now understood. Its author was for many years a successful and distinguished instructor in the University of Halle, but has recently been called to the superintendency of one of the dioceses of the Prussian United Church. The Introduction to the work consist of three chapters, filling forty-five pages. In the first of the three the real idea of the science is beautifully elaborated; in the second its history and literature are skillfully sketched; the third discusses the true method to be followed. The body of the work is then divided into two parts, the first of which is entitled "The Physiology of the Church; or, the Doctrine of the Organism of Ecclesiastical Life." This part is then subdivided into three sections, treating respectively of the "Nature of Ecclesiastical Life," "Forms of its Manifestation," and "Conditions of its Realization." These discussions take us half through the book. Part second then treats of the "Theory of the Ecclesiastical Functions," the first section being devoted to the "Theory of the Regulating Activities," (that is, Constitution, Legislating, and Administration;) the second to "The Theory of the Educative Activities," ("the Cherishing, the Instructional, and the Disciplinary Education;") and the third to the "Theory of the Edifying Activities," ("Arrangement of Forms of Worship, Performance of Acts of Worship, Execution of Ecclesiastical Acts.") This outline of the author's plan may convey

some idea of the work; but, from the novelty of its terminology, no adequate one. Could we give a fuller analysis of its contents it would be seen that our author meets and discusses every question which properly falls within the domain of his science as above defined. As he wrote for the purpose of furnishing his students a text-book to be used and enlarged upon in the lecture-room, the style is everywhere succinct, clear, and easy to be understood. Although not well adapted for translation into the English language, it cannot be studied without profit even in our country.

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*Evangelische Pädagogik.* Von DR. CHRISTIAN PALMER. Third Edition. 8vo., pp. 694. Stuttgart. 1862.

Dr. Christian Palmer, of Tübingen, is one of the most distinguished cultivators of Practical Theology and its related subjects in all Germany. The preparation of the articles belonging to this department in Herzog's Cyclopaedia was committed to him. The above work on the Evangelical Theory of education has already reached a third edition, and is well worthy of the attention and study of foreign theologians and educators. The stand-point of the author is sufficiently set forth in his very definition of education: "According to our conception education consists in the propagation from one generation to another of that Christian spirit, which overpowers the flesh, elevates man from sensuality and bestiality, makes him truly and completely free, and thus enables the whole life in all its ramifications."—P. 82. In an Introduction of ninety pages Dr. Palmer describes the rise and progress and present state of his science. He here sketches with a masterly hand the characteristic principles and practical workings of the various systems of education which have been employed in different ages, commencing with the ante-Christian ones, both Hebrew and Heathen, coming down through New Testament times, the era of the Church fathers, the Middle Ages, the Reformation; depicting the development of the Protestant idea of education by Spencer and Francke, the revolution inaugurated by Pestalozzi, Locke, Rousseau and others; and thus preparing the way for a thorough understanding of the different views and tendencies prevailing at the present time in the department of pedagogics. The body of the work consists of three parts, the first of which contains the author's general pedagogical principles; the second, their application to the whole domain of schooling proper; the third, their application to the case of imbeciles, deaf and dumb, blind, orphans, foundlings, etc. In Part I, under the head of "*Teleological Prin-*

ciple," we find a very interesting and instructive discussion of the end of education as determined by Christianity in distinction from ends that have been proposed or kept in view by non-evangelical philosophers and pedagogues. Under the second, or *Anthropological* principle, the Christian doctrine of depravity is reconciled with the childhood innocency and educability postulated by pedagogical science; while under the third, or *Methodical* principle, along with wisdom and natural educative talent, the absolute indispensability of prayer, faith, and answering divine blessing is earnestly insisted upon, and that on strictly scientific grounds. These three principles, namely, that education is to God, from a state of natural sinfulness and corruption, *by means of* the divine blessing upon endeavors made in prayer and faith—constitute the groundwork of the whole system. On this basis the author proceeds to elaborate the true principles, first, of training, and second, of instruction. These two sections, filling more than two hundred pages, he designates respectively the Discipline of Love and the Discipline of Truth. His own summary of their contents will give some idea of the important subjects therein discussed. "A. Relation to the Animal Life; B. Play; C. Moral Life. 1. Piety and the Fear of God. 2. Society, (Parents, Brothers and Sisters, Domestic, Playmates, Society and Church.) 3. The World, (Patriotic Education, Social Life, Art, Nature, Earthly Calling.) 4. Relation of the Child to itself, (Frivolity, Sense of Honor, Modesty, Self-education, Differences occasioned by Sex, the Means of all Love-discipline, Word, Self-Manifestation, Reward, and Punishment.)" Second section: "Selection of the Material for Instruction; Preparation of the Child for Learning; Preparation of the Material to be Learned for the Child; The Process of Teaching and Learning." We regret that we have not space to describe in detail the contents of the second and third parts, and to reproduce some of the results of the author's interesting investigations. We can only recommend the interested to procure and study the entire work. Though prepared with immediate reference to Germany, where the relation of the school to the Church is entirely different from what it is in the United States, its study would prove exceedingly profitable to all who are endeavoring to resist the efforts of those infidel legislators and pedagogues who are seeking to rob our public schools of the last vestige of Christian character.

We would add that this work, the edition of Bengel's "Gnomon" below noticed, as also all the works issued by Mr. Steinkopf, of Stuttgart, can be obtained of Messrs. Schaefer & Koradi, Philadelphia.

*Luther's Ringen mit den Antichristlichen Principien der Revolution.* Von DR. HEINRICH VORREITER. 8vo., pp. 418. Halle.

This is the title of a recent work written in the interest of toryism and high "Churchianity." The author's theory is that Luther was divinely called to *reform* the Church, but that, while comprehending his call, he shrank from it, and so far yielded to revolutionary tendencies as to better deserve the name of a Revolutionist than that of a Reformer. Despairing of his ability to regenerate the Church in its unity, he rent it in pieces, and endeavored to save only individuals or at most factions. That was his fatal blunder, and Christendom is to this day suffering its wretched consequences. He forgot the collective guilt of the Church, and sank to a mere polemizer against the Pope as "Antichrist." In his closing prayer the author seems to throw the whole blame of the existing schism between Catholics and Protestants upon the latter, and to profess his anxiety to hasten back to the bosom of the true Church. He says: "Would that we evangelicals might cease from our incessant self-apologizing, that we may not render permanent the retrogression of the Reformation and the body of our blessed Lord, his Church, longer suffer the pains of perpetual laceration. This may God work." The essay presents a curious mixture of truth and error, but has its value in presenting us with a view of Luther and the Reformation from a new stand-point.

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*D. Joh. Alberti Bengelii Gnomon Novi Testamenti, in quo ex nativâ verborum vi simplicitas, profunditas, concinnitas, salubritas sensuum coelestium indicatur.* (Editio tertia, 1773, per filium superstition. M. ERNESTUM BEN-  
GELIUM, quondam curata quinto recusa adjuvante. JOHANNA STEUDEL,  
cumantis effigie. Stuttgartiæ, 1860. Sumtibus: J. F. Steinkopf.)

After the repeated notices of Bengel's "Gnomon" in these pages, (see the volume for 1862, p. 694; and 1861, p. 166,) it is needless to add new commendations. We simply wish to here call the attention of the student to a remarkably cheap, compact, yet complete and well-printed edition of the original Latin work. It is decidedly the best extant, accurate, readable, adorned with the likeness of Bengel, and yet sold at the low price of two thalers and twelve silver groschen, (less than two dollars in our currency.) Considering the fact that the Edinburgh version is notoriously poor, and that the new one of Professors Lewis and Vincent is expurgated, revised, and supplemented, with a view to rendering the work better adapted to the popular necessities of the present day, we doubt not that many will prefer an accurate and complete copy of the original. This new Stuttgart reprint offers everything that they can reasonably desire.

*Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.*

*A History of the Intellectual Development of Europe.* By JOHN WILLIAM DRAPER, M.D., LL.D., Professor of Chemistry and Physiology in the University of New York. 8vo., pp. 631. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1863.

This work is intended by its author as a completion of his treatise upon Human Physiology; the one dealing with man's interior structure as an individual organism, the latter with collective man in the social organism. His doctrine is, that while volitional freedom is a truth, human history is ruled by law. "Social advancement is as completely under the control of natural law as is bodily growth." "In a world composed of vanishing forms," he says, "I am to vindicate the imperishability, the majesty of law, and to show how man proceeds in his social march, in obedience to it. I am to lead my reader, perhaps in a reluctant path, from the outward phantasmagorical illusions which surround us, and so ostentatiously obtrude themselves on our attention, to something that lies in silence and strength behind. I am to draw his thoughts from the tangible to the invisible, from the limited to the universal, from the changeable to the invariable, from the transitory to the eternal; from the expedients and volitions so largely amusing the life of man, to the predestined and resistless issuing from the fiat of God." It will be seen from this, and from other passages in both the author's treatises, that his stand-point is not pantheistic, but theistic. The doctrine of the immortality of the soul, expressed with a glow of natural eloquence in his first publication, stands unretracted in this. The key to the science of history, in his view, is the great principle advanced by Pascal, "The entire succession of men, through the whole course of ages, must be regarded as one man, always living and incessantly learning." In accordance with this formula the author propounds the following programme of his work: "The intellectual progress of Europe being of a nature answering to that observed in the case of Greece, and this, in its turn, being like that of an individual, we may conveniently separate it into arbitrary periods, sufficiently distinct from one another, though imperceptibly merging into each other. To these successive periods I shall give the titles of, 1, The Age of Credulity; 2, The Age of Inquiry; 3, The Age of Faith; 4, The Age of Reason; 5, The Age of Deceit; and shall use these designations in the division of my subject in its several chapters."

If the idea of the conformity of European advancement to the progress of individual life be used as a convenient plan for grouping the ages of European development according to a graceful

analogy, it is a very pleasant contrivance. But if it be laid down as a scientific principle, it is only a truthlike phantasy, very much of the same class with the half-poetic, half-scientific whimsies engendered in what the author is pleased to call the "decrepitude" of the Grecian mind. It is discovering elephants in the clouds, or predicting fortunes in the fancy figures of the remnant leaves of your emptied tea-cup. The theory is upon a par with M. Comte's division of human development into three ages, and is demolished by the same refutations. Nations rise and fall equally by slow degrees, and by abrupt events. They are sometimes passing through alternations of advancement and decline; at other times they stand stationary through ages. In Europe these alternations of progress and regress do afford, on the scale of full millenniums, a clear demonstration of total progress. Asia on the other hand, and Africa, have lain during all those millenniums in semi-civilized or barbarous stagnation. What proof is there in either of these latter two continents that races or nations pass through stages analogous to the evolutions of an individual human life? A comparative glance at their maps, and at a chart of their histories, so far as they have history, is a finishing contradiction to the flimsy theory.

If the theory be true and scientific in regard to European civilization, we are in bad case. The "Age of Reason" is hard upon us; we are rapidly and forever sloughing off the remnant of faith and approximating the "decrepitude" that precedes social dissolution. Should not something be done to arrest the progress of this fatal civilization? Alas, it is hopeless! Inexorable "law" ascertains our doom. Like good Turks, we may as well sit still and await the plague or the decay written in the book of fate.

What are the true causes of progress and regress in the history of different parts of our race may be a subject of useful inquiry. Conducted in a method of searching analysis and comprehensive induction, it might yield fruits. This might ultimately yield a "Philosophy of History." There are certain conditions of a public, both subjective and objective, which conduce to progress; there are others that reverse this result. Why is it that one nation advances, another recedes, and another is stationary? Why is it that the same nation is sometimes at different periods in each of these conditions? What are those conditions? We find no solution of those problems in this work, and no track pointing to the solution. The entire method seems to us *à priori*, and the detail of facts selected partly as fancy pleased, and partly with an eye to prepare a conclusion. We have neither legitimate science nor legitimate history, but history cast into the mould of a theory.



Dr. Draper's view of Old Testament authority appears by the following passage: "Our current chronology was the offspring of erroneous theological considerations, the nature of which required not only a short historical term for the various nations of antiquity, but even for the existence of man upon the globe. This necessity appears to have been chiefly experienced in the attempt to exalt certain facts in the history of the Hebrews from their subordinate position in human affairs, and, indeed, to give the whole of that history an exaggerated value. This was done in a double way: by elevating Hebrew history from its true grade, and depreciating or falsifying that of other nations."—P. 146. To a writer who thus prefers Eratosthenes and the Egyptologists to Moses, we recommend a slight study of Sir Cornwall Lewis.

Coming to the Christian era, the author gives warning that offense may be taken at his truthful freedom. "Together we must trace out the progress of Christianity, examine the adaptation of its cardinal principles to the wants of the empire, and the variations it exhibited—a task supremely difficult, for even *sincerity and truth will sometimes offend*. For my part, it is my intention to speak with *veneration* on this great topic, and yet with liberty, for *freedom of thought and expression is to me the first of all earthly things*."—P. 197. For our own part we have no intention to lose our equanimity at any sincere utterance by our author; but we must claim the same prerogative of sincere and truthful freedom. The history of Christianity itself, then, whatever may be the subjective position of the author personally, appears to us as deistical as the *Decline and Fall* by Edward Gibbon. We find no acknowledgment of the divine miraculous origin in this work as explicit as we can find in Gibbon. Our author first shows from the condition of effete Paganism and the confident dogmas of Christianity how naturally and necessarily the latter conquered. He divides early Christianity into dogma and organization. The dogmas of early Christianity were Judaic, Gnostic, and African. Of these the first soon perished; the second forms a much larger share of our present orthodox Christianity than is commonly supposed; but the third is still in full sway. "It cannot be said that Europe owes its existing forms of Christianity to a Roman origin. It is indebted to Africa for them. We live under African domination."—P. 215. Such being the character of existing Christian doctrine, what is to be said of early Christian "organization?" Its triumph is symbolized in the murder of Hypatia by Bishop Cyril, of which a rhetorical picture is presented as an instance in which "great general principles embody themselves in individuals."

We need of course trace this sort of history of Christianity no further. We but perform our duty in saying of it as a whole that it is not written in the spirit of Milman, Neander, Gieseler, or Guizot. The apparent spirit of the cold-souled Gibbon, without the splendor of Gibbon's eloquence, pervades the vast area of the dreary pages. If this should "offend," we have only to say that "freedom of thought and expression is the first of all earthly things."

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*Geographical Studies.* By the late Professor CARL RITTER, of Berlin. Translated from the Original German, by WILLIAM LEONHARD GAGE, Translator and Editor of Professor Heinrich Steffen's "Story of my Career," etc. 12mo., pp. 356. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard. 1863.

Mr. Gage enjoyed the rare advantage of having been Ritter's pupil, and has a fair prescriptive right as well as the ample ability to represent him to the American reader. Ritter was the great compeer of Humboldt in giving to the science of Geography its re-inauguration on a new basis. It was a significant era when the first navigator sailed round the world. It was a wonderful illustration of the immeasurable superiority of human intellect over brute faculties when the savan first comprehended the round globe as a unit, and commenced to evolve a world of philosophy from the comparative survey of its parts. It then takes a stubborn skepticism to prevent your viewing the globe as a nice apple in God's hand. To Humboldt, alas! that cold skepticism belonged; but the heart of Ritter glowed with the rich piety his theme was calculated to awaken. The biography of the man, as given by Mr. Gage, is by no means the least interesting part of the book.

Ritter was born in 1779, published the first edition of his great work in 1817, became Professor of Geography at Berlin in 1820, and died in 1859. His great work, the *Erdekund*; or, Science of the Earth, is the fountain from which the Physical Geography, so wisely of late introduced into our schools, has emanated. The present volume, translated by Mr. Gage, has something of the defect which he indicates. Like the arc of a stupendous circle, it shows the *bent* of something grand without bringing much of the whole within our grasp. Yet to thoughtful minds it is truly a suggestive book, and we trust the translator will derive no discouragement from the results.

From his interesting biographical sketch we extract the following pleasing account of Ritter as a Professor:

When he came to Berlin in 1820, and announced in the University his lectures on Universal Geography, there were no hearers at the opening of the course, very few at the close, and but a handful in the following course. Yet still there was a

gain; and ever on went his success, till in 1823, only three years from the beginning of his labors as professor in Berlin, he wrote in his diary: "Full lecture-room; I must have a larger." And so it went on, till the largest hall in the University could hardly contain his pupils. It soon began to be "the thing" to hear Ritter, and nearly every student of the natural sciences was a daily attendant on his course. When I was in Berlin, five years ago, Ritter's room was still full; more than three hundred young men were hearing his lectures. He knew his art well. With almost womanly tact, he seized upon those features which present circumstances made interesting, and culled out of the immense masses of matter lying in his mind just what he could use with the greatest profit. He illustrated freely by excellent maps, and was a master in the use of the blackboard, sketching gracefully and readily whatever made his subject clear. I shall not forget the patriarchal appearance of Carl Ritter in the lecture-room in 1855. He used his notes about half the time, but read them easily, and with great distinctness. Obscure and involved almost without parallel in his written dissertations, yet his style was simple in the lecture-room, and his clear articulation and well-chosen emphasis, combined in a highly musical voice, made it easy to follow him. He was a tall, finely proportioned man, with a noble head, a most sincere and earnest manner, yet unusually quiet and simple. His dress was peculiar when an old man, and no one who frequented the famous Linden Avenue of Berlin would fail to remark that tall and venerable figure, clad in a long blue cloak and broad-rimmed hat, both half a century out of date. He used to wear a large rolling collar, like that worn by a past generation of New England grandfathers; and that, together with the huge horn spectacles, gave him a rusticity of appearance, and a simple friendliness, which captivated every one who knew his learning, his talents, and his heart. It was a characteristic of Ritter, that the external man was so penetrated by his inner nature that the two were inseparable and undistinguishable. He was such a one that if you had looked upon his face you had read the whole man; and therefore he belonged to that class of minds which always make the same impression upon men of all conditions and mental varieties. The cause of this uniform impression is found in his natural humility, in the quiet peacefulness of his inner life, which was more than mere tranquillity: it was the holy calmness of a Christian.—P. 27.

#### Ritter as a Christian:

He was one of the foremost Christians in Germany. He cherished from his schooldays a living faith in God and Christ, which the loss of his wife, twenty years before his own death, only strengthened. He was a Christian in the full sense of the word. He was a man who *spoke* little of faith; but it lay deeply at his heart, and showed itself in his active co-operation in the great Christian enterprises of the day. He was one of the most active men in Germany in promoting church harmony; and when the Evangelical Alliance met in Berlin three years ago, Ritter was one of the greatest voices there. He was steadfastly opposed to all forms of strife in the Church; but he cherished, as the chief joy of his life, his faith in Christ and the grace which God had implanted in his heart. God's word was the light of his steps; and it was the great end of all his scientific labors to confirm the truth of the Bible. Hoffman, his pastor, the eminent cathedral preacher of Berlin, uses these words in his address over Ritter's grave: "No one who lived in near intimacy with him will forget the bright glance of his eye when the richness of God's grace was spoken of, nor that serious earnestness of his with which he traced the hand of the eternal in his works; no one will forget that venerable head and that reverential face, as he sat in the house of God during the hour of afternoon worship, nor the few but precious words with which he proclaimed his peace in God through Jesus Christ, and expressed his hope of future glory. No one could approach him without feeling that the richness and vastness of his knowledge were all subordinate to a desire for His praise, by whom, and through whom, and for whom all things have been created. The blessing of the meek was plainly his, and no one could be with him even for a season and not feel it to be so; for he would note the universal peace of Ritter's soul, and the humility of his nature, pictured in every feature of his countenance."—P. 29.

### Religion in his science :

Ritter carried his religion into his scientific studies. This earth was to him not a mere dwelling-place for nations; it was the material out of which life is woven; it was the garment in which the soul clothes itself, the body wherein the spirit formed by God must move. This was Ritter's central thought; all his ideas illustrated, all his researches confirmed it; through the earth as his way he reached God as his goal. The globe was to him but the place where God's kingdom should be founded; and in all his study of man, Christ became the middle point. In his most valuable scientific writings the thought that underlies them all—whether his subject be mountain heights or dark valleys, heaths or cities—is, that everything in the world comes from the counsels of God, and has a relation to the kingdom of Christ. This is the secret of those impressions which his geographical writings produce.—P. 30.

### Ritter's written style:

As for beauty of style he had none of it. He fully illustrates the truth of what has been said by an eminent living writer: "The great German authors address themselves not to their country, but to one another. They are sure of a select and learned audience, and they use what is in fact a learned language; they turn their mother tongue into a dialect, eloquent indeed and very powerful, but so difficult, so subtle, and so full of complicated inversions, that to their own lower classes it is entirely incomprehensible."—P. v, Preface.

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*The Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man*, with Remarks on Theories of the Origin of Species by Variation. By Sir CHARLES LYELL, F.R.S., author of "Principles of Geology," "Elements of Geology." Illustrated by Woodcuts. Second American from the last London Edition. 8vo., pp. 526. Philadelphia: George W. Childs. 1863.

In his celebrated treatise entitled "Principles of Geology," published some years ago, Sir Charles Lyell did a great work in establishing in the science of Geology the assumption that no causes were needed in order to account for all the physical changes in the structure of our earth than are now patent, provided the element of time can be assumed to any requisite amount. A large part of the treatise, embodying a history of Geology, traced with much detail, but great calmness, the obstacles met by the advances of Geology from the prepossessions and opposition of Theology. It closed with an extended refutation of Lamarck's theory of development, avowing that for the introduction of man upon the earth, which science showed to have taken place, science had no solution to offer. He could not explicitly accept the fact of immediate creation on the authority of the Hebrew records, as of those documents science could take no cognizance. But he left it to anybody who pleased to supplement the silence of science by such theory or history as they preferred. Science, in Sir Charles Lyell's hands, can know no Bible, no creation, and no God.

We do not say that individually Sir Charles Lyell is either a deist, a pantheist, or an atheist. He is personally, for aught we know, a devout Christian. We only say that in his hands science is pantheistic; just as in the hands of Strauss or Renan or David-

son biblical criticism is pantheistic. In the present volume (page 421) Sir Charles says: "Hitherto no rival hypothesis has been proposed as a substitute for the doctrine of transmutation; for 'independent creation,' as it is often termed, or the direct intervention of the Supreme Cause, must simply be considered as an avowal that we deem the question to lie beyond the domain of science." Just as explicitly Prof. Huxley says: "At the present moment but one such process of physical causation has any evidence in its favor; or, in other words, there is but one hypothesis regarding the origin of species of animals in general which has any scientific existence—that propounded by Mr. Darwin." So that, although geological science can listen to the story of any digger of stones in Abbeville, or any historical record of a past transaction, a suggestion of "independent creation" cannot reach the scientific ear. If the matter stopped at this point the offense would not be so very aggravated. The physicist might then be understood to say, "We recognize independent creation as a truth or a probability beyond the boundary lines of our science, and so hold all counter theories in abeyance until they bring an evidence sufficiently strong to falsify that supposed truth; for it is one thing to be out of the bounds of our one science, and other thing to be out of the bounds of reality." The truth may, in the divisions of knowledge, be cut off from geology; and it cannot be accepted as a part of geology. But when the geologist, after ignoring it as no part of geology, proceeds to inaugurate a theory into a science, on the assumption that no counter view has any existence, and holds the theory valid in default of all counter view, he has no right to expect the concurrence of any man who is anything more than a geologist. If Sir Charles Lyell or Prof. Huxley has no eyes or ears to cognize a non-geological fact, all the rest of the world has. We will allow them to exclude "independent creation" out of their geology; but, thanks be to God! they cannot exclude it from the domains of truth, any more than they can exclude God from his universe.

The present volume possesses great value for not only the savan, but the enlightened inquirer into the deeply interesting problem it discusses. There is a full detail of all the facts bearing upon the question of the "fossil man." The *illustrations* are of great value as furnishing the reader clear views of the various localities and objects so frequently named in the discussion. The work closes with some interesting remarks on the moral bearings of the doctrine of development indorsed by the author. The author supposes a point of advancement, in which the being becomes man by mounting to an immortal nature—somewhat as a rare genius, like Milton or Newton,

overtops the level of his race. Natural Theology he holds to remain undisturbed. Materialism is rather counteracted than confirmed. Of the Scripture record he seems to be scientifically ignorant. Should Sir Charles Lyell's book survive some great wreck of the literature of the age, it might be quoted in a future generation as a negative demonstration of the non-existence of the Pentateuch. We say not that the author is a pantheist; but we say that geology in his hands is science according to pantheism.

The book is done up by Mr. Childs in a style worthy its high reputation.

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*The Great Stone Book of Nature.* By DAVID THOMAS ANSTED, M. A., Late Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. 12mo., pp. 335. Philadelphia: George W. Childs. 1863.

You have never studied, you have no time to study, you have not the nerve required to study, Geology; but if you could only be beguiled into the science by mere easy fascinating *reading*, you would like it. Very well. One of the most accomplished savans here takes you by the hand, cheats you out of your fatigue, shows you by what route to approach, and in what manner to gain possession of this most interesting department of knowledge, in so graceful, semi-poetical, and pictorial a way that you will have taken a tinge of geology for all the rest of your life by spontaneous absorption.

In the first few chapters Mr. Ansted shows that the causes are now going on by which all the changes of the past have been effected. He then traces the forms, objects, and events which those causes have produced. The organic remains, the stores of fuel, the pre-Adamite world, the glittering treasures, the metallic wealth, and the circulation of water, form a train of topics more wonderful than romance and yet true. Why need we pore over Dickens and Owen Meredith when we can obtain Ansted? The typography and engravings are done up by Mr. Childs in a style worthy the work.

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*A Class-Book of Chemistry*, in which the latest Facts and Principles of the Science are Explained, and Applied to the Arts of Life and the Phenomena of Nature. Designed for the Use of Colleges and Schools. A new edition entirely rewritten. With over three hundred illustrations. By EDWARD L. YOUNG, M.D., author of the "Chemical Chart," "Chemical Atlas," "Handbook of Household Science," etc. 12mo., pp. 460. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1863.

The present volume exhibits plentiful traits of what we believe we have before called Professor Young's educational genius. It consists very much in a singular power of clear, concise expression,



lucid order, and an inventive skill in presenting intricate science in graphic form before the eye. The non-professional examiner of the work will find that if he does not keep well posted in the science it will fast grow out of his knowledge, its growth being as rapid and its magnitude being as unfinished as those of our own city of Gotham in past years.

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*History, Biography, and Topography.*

*Life and Times of Nathan Bangs, D.D.* By ABEL STEVENS, LL.D., author of "The History of the Religious Movement of the Eighteenth Century, called Methodism. 12mo., pp. 426. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1863.

The selection of Dr. Stevens by Dr. Bangs as his biographer was a guarantee of a valuable addition to our historical literature. What we have to say of a favorable nature we premise with a disposal of points on which we dissent. The note in our last number indicating such a treatment in the work of the slavery question as would render the book capable of acceptance by all is not to be construed into an indorsement of Dr. Stevens's exhibit of that part of his subject. There is scarce a paragraph in those portions of his book which we could adopt as our own. And in the general his view seems to be that it was simply a sad strife in which the movers were the aggressors, and both sides wrong; by which Churches were disturbed and broken up, and in which moderateism was the great merit. Our view is that the movers were right; that with a high unsilenceable moral purpose they assailed an evil which the good of humanity required to be assailed; that there would have been little strife had there been, as there should have been, a reasonable concurrence instead of a reasonless opposition; and that therefore the assailants of the movers were the responsible aggressors and the "conservatives" were the destructives. That this view places a most brilliant dynasty of statesmen and churchmen in the shady side of history, that the "great men" of the crisis were great failures, that they were unable to comprehend or to rise to the high level of their moral position, is a fact which in every revolving year will become more clearly seen and more articulately pronounced.

The long life of Dr. Bangs stretched, like a historic line, from the present day far back into our primitive antiquity. He was at the beginnings of things. The seminal period of his birth, conversion, and early ministry seem like a gray twilight. Methodism in America was without form and void. The local religious movement in which he started into religious action is like one of the million spontaneous springs which form from all directions into a Mississippi.

And in the successive steps of organic formation he is present and working. The epochs of Methodism are notches in his personal history. And of all the institutes which have constituted her system no one character so forms the nucleus. Energetic, staid, progressive, and true, he was a co-operator, a leader, a princeps, until he became, by easy consent of all, the patriarch. Few men have we known for whom, in his patriarchal period, the epithet *venerable* seemed more purposely made.

He was a statesman and a warrior. Nor was he quite what he appears to be in Dr. Stevens's history, the meek evader of strife, who had a right to mourn in innocence over the polemic spirit of others. He was full ready for battle, could say unsparing things, and employ what appeared to his opponents very questionable tactics. Like Dr. Johnson, if his argumentative pistol missed fire he could knock the recusant down with the butt end. He had great ends in view, was autocratic in their pursuit, and repressed opposition in an unceremonious style. But in the great outline of his course his ends were public ends; he labored for the good of the Church and the world; he employed his great powers with a rare, consistent, and persistent faithfulness in the cause of his divine Master.

The two great errors of position in his life (of which Dr. Stevens gives no very explicit narrative) were his opposition to the temperance organizations and to the antislavery movement. In the first, his purpose was to hold aloof from the movement on the grounds that our Church was itself a temperance organization. After a period, however, so unanimous was the Church in its favor that he abandoned that position and entered frankly and fully into the spirit of that great beneficent work. This was doubtless a sincere change of opinion, and the unreserved decision with which it was made is a characteristic and honorable trait of his personal history; yet very sad it is that that same trait did not retrieve his false position in the latter great reform. His second error was like unto his first, springing much from a similar source, his confidence in the traditional antislaveryism of Methodism. He refused to see that that tradition had lost its sufficiency to meet the trials of a new state of things. It was liable to become an evil; serving as a voucher for one's antislaveryism preparatory to opening an onslaught upon all opposition to slavery. Regulated by such antecedents and surrounded by malign influences, he saw himself deserted by section after section of the Church, which refused equally to accept his counsels or to withhold her reverence for his memorable past and venerable present. Even while he stood in our conference, uttering those words that fell like icicles on the heart of the

Church to be applauded to the echo in Louisiana, she rejected his counsels with sorrow for their import, yet reverence for the utterer.

To the last, when he came into the arena, he maintained his ascendancy. To the last the antislavery progressives, most of them comparatively young and inexperienced, dreaded his speeches and tactics more than those of all the others put together. He placed himself by natural ascendancy at the head of the ranks, and his logic was as clear, his voice as piercing, his hand as heavy, and his management as skillful as in his palmy days. Little as there was of the mere showy or the effeminate in his manly style of oratory, it was at the close of one of his last efforts that we overheard a lady utter the words, "I *do* like to hear Dr. Bangs speak; it is so right to the point."

The true substantial popularity of Dr. Bangs with New York Methodism for thirty or forty years was eminently honorable to both parties. He purchased it by no flourish, no insinuating style of manners, no flimsy rhetoric, no rich imagination, no personal adulation, no finesse or intrigue. He stood in his own manly simplicity; he spoke in a style of clear, plain, solid English; his appeals, stern or gentle, were to the best reason of his hearers, and his deportment was that of a grave, thoughtful Christian gentleman. As such he was accepted and sustained by our Metropolitan Methodism through the great share of his long and valuable life. A body of Christian laity appreciated his comprehensive projects, contributed the means, and shared in the noble labors. The monuments of his useful toils and the remembrancers of his many and great virtues, are around us. May they long stand to accomplish the work for which he sought to found them and fully to perpetuate the earthly register of his name whose truest record is on high.

If we have touched all the more fully upon some points because we think that by omissions scarce true to history they are not represented by his biographer, let it be remembered that they are but few and isolated points. Of the great body of the volume, as well as the life of its eminent subject, we may speak with no qualified commendation. Dr. Stevens's name, as already indicated, is a pledge that a volume rich in historical, moral, and literary interest is ready for a wide class of expectant readers.

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*Outposts of Zion*, with Limnings of Missionary Life. By Rev. WILLIAM H. GOODE, ten years a member of Frontier Conferences. 12mo., pp. 464. Cincinnati: Poe & Hitchcock. 1863.

Mr. Goode's successive fields of labor have been in Arkansas, Kansas, Nebraska, and the mining regions of the Rocky Mount-

ains. The ten years have stretched through a period of momentous history. Under the Church, previous to the separation, he held his center in Fort Coffee, where a prosperous missionary seminary was established, and supervised the Arkansas mission work. He was present at the Louisville Convention, where the pro-slavery Methodist Episcopal Church was inaugurated, and his details are painfully interesting. His exploring tour to the Rocky Mountains abounds in interest, and his conclusions in value. Right earnestly and justly does our faithful missionary plead the cause of our red American brethren. He scouts with benevolent indignation the cruel cant that the "Indian is doomed." He shows conclusively that where the speculator and the shark are excluded, and the missionary and the schoolmaster are allowed to do their work, moral elevation, increase of population, civilization, and ultimate rescue from annihilation are the blessed results. We are struck with the bold and noble proposition which closes the programme of dealing with the Indians, that they be educated and trained to become states in our Confederacy. Slavery and the slave-power, inhuman in all directions, have not forgotten to be cruel to the sons of the forest. Slavery has sustained and intensified the bigotry of race; pro-slavery administrations have sent unprincipled harpies to the territories to reap the reward of partisan services. Thus the three races, white, red, and black, have come under the destructive power of this common curse. Let us hope that a better day dawns. The great crime of two centuries abolished and expiated with tears and blood, let us hope that Japhet, Shem, and Ham—the Caucasian, the Indian, and the African—will recognize a common brotherhood, and cultivate peace, equity, and piety together. We feel like nominating "honest Abe" for one more term, vexed as we sometimes are at his inaptitude for rapid development, that he may be the emancipator of the three races—a tri-colored Liberator. Let him be permitted and willing to inaugurate a humane policy for the Indian, looking to the establishment of free, coequal states of that race, and future generations will call him *the good President*.

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*The History of the Romans under the Empire.* By CHARLES MERIVALE, B.D., late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. From the fourth London Edition. With a copious Analytical Index. Vol. i. 12mo., pp. 439. New York: Appleton & Co. 1863.

Merivale has been accepted by the highest English authorities as a classic; as a worthy member of the modern school of historians, which has shed so bright a luster on that department of English literature. His works covers the vacant interval in Roman history

between Arnold and Gibbon. It is at the same time the most stirring time, the most momentous epoch, in the history of that extraordinary nation. It commences at the formation of the first Triumvirate, and closes at the death of Marcus Aurelius. The first two volumes terminate at the close of the career of Julius Cesar, and are, in fact, the "life and times" of that, as Merivale thinks, "greatest character in history." It is the period of Pompey, Cato, Cicero, and Crassus. Volumes third and fourth extend to Claudius, including the Christian era. The sixth terminates at the fall of Jerusalem, and the seventh closes the work, A. D. 70, at the death of Aurelius. Its finish of style, its great success in bringing the enlightened judgment of modern thought to bear upon ancient events and characters, its descriptive and narrative power and thorough erudition, render it a worthy complement to the two great English historians of Rome, between whom it stands. Both the classic scholar and the general reader will rejoice to receive this work done up in the Appleton style.

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*The Life and Times of John Huss*; or, the Bohemian Reformation of the Fifteenth Century. By E. H. GILLET. In two volumes. 8vo., pp. 632, 651. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard. 1863.

Brief space compels us to use strong words to do commensurate justice to this noble work. It appears to us an honor to American scholarship and talent. It selects one of the truest, noblest, purest martyrs of the entire Christian history; it scatters the shades which historical neglect has allowed to gather around him; it draws from a thorough research into original and cotemporary sources, with graphic power, a living portrait of characters and events that possess an undying interest for every lover of purity, truth, and freedom. Mr. Gillett dates his preface from "Harlem, near New York city." Gould & Lincoln have worthily framed his historic pictures into two plain but stately volumes. Let not our religious and scholarly public overlook this production.

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*The Capital of the Tycoon: A Narrative of a Residence in Japan.* By Sir RUTHERFORD ALCOCK, K. C. B., His Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Japan. With Maps and Illustrations. In two volumes. 12mo., pp. 407, 436. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The opening of Japan to European incursion, which must ultimately completely Europeanize or Americanize that country, will render this a welcome book to a large class of inquirers. It is written in vigorous style, and its bountiful supply of maps and illustrations greatly aids in furnishing clear conceptions of that peculiar region and people.

*Belles-Lettres and Classical.*

*Temptation and Triumph*, with other Stories. By VIRGINIA F. TOWNSEND. 12mo., pp. 389. Cincinnati: Poe & Hitchcock. 1863.

This book belongs to the class in which the realities of life have crowded all interest from our individual mind, and which we usually huddle into our "miscellaneous" list of titles. But for those who feel the "aching void" for fiction, and desire that it may be supplied with aliment that will healthfully nourish the inner man, we recommend this as the right book, on the authority of the source from which it issues.

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*Periodicals.*

*The British American*. A Monthly Magazine, devoted to Literature, Science, and Art. No. 7. Nov. 1863. 8vo., pp. 112. Toronto: Rollo & Adam.

We welcome to our Table every token that our Canadian brethren are prosecuting a career of intellectual advancement. Whatever our geographical boundary lines or political separations are, both belong to the REPUBLIC of Letters. It is of the very nature of a true democratic spirit to make any allowance for differences of positions and views; nor do we the less desire the prosperity of our Provincial neighbors because we prefer a President and they cherish a spirit of loyalty toward the noble Lady who now adorns with every womanly virtue the British throne. When the Prince of Wales rode up our Broadway, that street was spanned with the banner, "We honor the Mother and we welcome the Son." Never was a public tribute more spontaneous, less *gotten up*, than that ovation through our free states. Twice on our continent was the Prince insulted; once in Canada, and once, the moment he trod slave soil, in the streets of Richmond. How little did the American heart expect or realize that in a few short months, in response to all this, the British government would do all it dare against us and for the rebellious Confederacy of Richmond, and how madly the British press would open upon us its floodgates of insolence and calumny. To all this we have presented our Monitors and our defiance; we owe the moderation of these later days not to English justice or honor but to English discretion. They *would* but they *dare not*, and America will scarce forget it this half century. Yet we recognize the fact that the humble people are on our side. We shall not forget the heroism of the suffering artisans of Lancashire; we cherish the belief that the motherly heart of the British queen never has forgotten how



once these free states poured forth their love and honor on her son; and we yet hold fast the story that the hand of the dying Albert employed its failing energy in softening the words of the demand for reparation in the case of the Trent.

Our Canadian brother is of course very silly when he touches upon our affairs. He is greatly in fear that we shall lose our liberties. He considers us cursed with a "bridled press, a suspended *habeas corpus*, a threatened military despotism!" He may set his heart at ease. At the approaching close of Mr. Lincoln's term of office another presidential election will reinstate him, or supply a successor in his office, as our free Republic pleases. All the machinery of our Republican government will go on. Our free institutions will be just as intact as though no army had been raised and no *habeas corpus* suspended. His hopes or fears that our liberties will be impaired or our institutions unsettled, are as rational as some lunatic's panic lest the keel of the Great Eastern should cut the Atlantic in two and let the water out. The only institution that will disappear, if any, will be Slavery, and that will leave us a higher, purer freedom, and a perfected Union. The South will then commence her manufactures, and both sections will be unanimous for a tariff that will probably leave England the chance of being the consumer of our manufactures provided she be not too poor to buy. The hero-artisans of Lancashire we hope to import to a more congenial clime.

Besides some lighter literature the British American has an entertaining semi-scientific article on "Frogs and their Kin," and a valuable article by the editor, H. Y. Hind, on the Fisheries of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, Labrador, and Newfoundland. The book notices are mostly of our Free State publications. Of Canadian periodicals are noticed "Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec," and "the Canadian Naturalist and Geologists." The latter contains an article on "The Air-breathers of the Coal Period," by Dr. Dawson, the able author of *Archæia*.

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*Miscellaneous.*

*An Outline of the Elements of the English Language*, for the Use of Students. By N. G. CLARK, Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature in Union College. 12mo., pp. 220. New York: C. Scribner. 1863.

This little volume is not, as the title might seem to indicate, a grammar, but more properly a history of the English language. As such it is a valuable manual, written in a graceful style and ample mastery of the subject.

*The Every-Day Philosopher in Town and Country.* By the author of "The Recreations of a Country Parson." 12mo., pp. 320. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1863.

*The Graver Thoughts of a Country Parson.* By the author of "The Recreations of a Country Parson." 12mo., pp. 307. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1863.

Our old friend after ruralizing a while drew near to town, and after philosophizing through a long series of efforts at last *preaches*. That he is truly serious and in earnest in this last performance need not be doubted. If heretofore he has appeared secular and worldly-wise, yet let it be remembered he never once denied or doffed his gown. He told you at start that he was a "parson;" that though out of his pulpit and out of his homiletics, he was not out of his sacred calling. It was indeed week-day and not Sunday; and he talked matters of prudential morality rather than of religion. But the thoughts of diviner strain that take hold of eternity, of Christ and redemption, are but held in reserve.

The "Graver Thoughts" are *sermons*. They are in much the same pure, mellow, flowing style with the essays. They are not mere ethical lectures like the sermons of Blair. They contain searching appeals to the conscience, and explicit presentations of Christ as the atoning Saviour. "Many of these words," he tells us, "have been said to a little handful of kindly country people, and all of them to a large congregation of educated folk in a great city."

*Daily Walk with Wise Men;* or, Religious Exercises for Every Day in the Year. Selected, arranged, and adapted by Rev. NATHAN HEAD. 12mo., pp. 782. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1861.

This is a book of devout readings for every day in the year, selected from Augustine, Calvin, Leighton, Chrysostom, Davenant, and a few others.

*Man's Gift to God.* A Discourse by ADOLPHE MONOD. Translated from the French by a Lady. 18mo., pp. 43. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1863.

About the most beautiful uninspired sermon we ever read: searching, philosophical, evangelical, and eloquent. It should have been done up in purple and gold.

*Woman and her Saviour in Persia.* By a Returned Missionary. With five Illustrations and a Map of the Nestorian Country. 12mo., pp. 303. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1863.

A gem in Missionary literature.

- Chrestomathie Française*, a French Reading Book, containing, 1. Selections from the best French Writers with References to the Author's French Grammar. 2. The Masterpieces of Molière, Racine, Boileau, and Voltaire. With Explanatory Notices and a Vocabulary. By WILLIAM J. KNAPP, A.M., Professor of Modern Languages and Literature in Madison University. 12mo., pp. 480. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1863.
- The Ring of Amasis*. From the Papers of a German Physician. By ROBERT BULWER LYTTON. ("Owen Meredith.") 12mo., pp. 301. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1863.
- Peter Carradine*; or, the Martindale Pastoral. By CAROLINE CHESEBRO. 12mo., pp. 398. New York: Sheldon & Co. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1863.
- The Mill Agent*. By the author of "Opposite the Jail." 12mo., pp. 352. Boston: Graves & Young. New York: Sheldon & Co. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard. 1864.
- History of the Sioux War and Massacres of 1862 and 1863*. By ISAAC V. D. HEARD. With Portraits and Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 354. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1863.
- The Yankee Boy at Home*. 12mo., pp. 294. New York: James Miller, (successor to C. S. Francis & Co.) 1864.
- Broken Columns*. 12mo., pp. 558. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1863.

Notices of several books and pamphlets have been omitted or postponed for want of space.

#### Plan of Episcopal Visitation for February, March, and April, 1864.

Conference.	Place.	Time.	Bishop.
KENTUCKY.....	Augusta.....	February 25*...	SIMPSON.
BALTIMORE.....	Wesley Chapel, Washington.	March 2 ...	SCOTT.
EAST BALTIMORE.....	Altoona.....	" 2 ...	JANES.
NEW JERSEY.....	Bridgeton.....	" 2 ...	SIMPSON.
MISSOURI AND ARKANSAS..	Jefferson City.....	" 2 ...	BAKER.
PHILADELPHIA.....	Wilmington, Del.....	" 9 ...	AMES.
KANSAS.....	Leavenworth.....	" 10*...	BAKER.
NEWARK.....	Market-street, Paterson.....	" 16 ...	SIMPSON.
PITTSBURGH.....	Barnesville, Ohio.....	" 16 ...	SCOTT.
WESTERN VIRGINIA.....	Parkersburgh.....	" 16 ...	MORRIS.
PROVIDENCE.....	New London, Conn.....	" 23 ...	AMES.
WYOMING.....	Waverly, N. Y.....	" 23 ...	JANES.
NEBRASKA.....	Omaha City.....	" 24*...	BAKER.
NEW ENGLAND.....	Walnut-street, Chelsea.....	" 30 ...	AMES.
TROY.....	Amsterdam.....	" 30 ...	SIMPSON.
NEW HAMPSHIRE.....	Lebanon.....	April 6 ...	JANES.
ONEIDA.....	Norwich.....	" 6 ...	SCOTT.
NORTH INDIANA.....	Knightstown.....	" 6 ...	MORRIS.
NEW YORK.....	Newburgh.....	" 13 ...	AMES.
NEW YORK EAST.....	Hartford.....	" 13 ...	SIMPSON.
BLACK RIVER.....	Adams.....	" 13 ...	BAKER.
VERMONT.....	St. Johnsbury.....	" 13 ...	JANES.
MAINE.....	Wesley Church, Bath.....	" 14*...	SCOTT.

\* Thursday.